DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 250 143 RC 015 032

AUTHOR	Roessel, Robert A., Jr.
TITLE	Dinetah: Navajo History. Volume II.
INSTITUTION	Rough Rock Demonstration School, AZ. Navajo Curriculum Center.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Elementary and Secondary Education (ED), Washington, DC. Indian Education Programs.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-936008-09-1
PUB DATE	83
NOTE	187p.; For Volume I and Volume III, Part B of this series, see ED 055 003 and RC 015 033.
AVAILABLE FROM	Navajo Curriculum Cent er, Rough Rock School, Star Route One, Rough Rock, AZ 86503 ($15.00).
PUB TYPE	Historical Materials (060) -- Books (010)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*American Indian Culture; American Indian Education; *American Indian History; American Indians; *Ancient History; Archaeology; *Cultural Background; *Ethnic Origins; Higher Education; Legends; Secondary Education; Tribes
IDENTIFIERS	*Navajo (Nation); *New Mexico (Northwest)

ABSTRACT

Using archaeological data, written chronicles of Spanish explorers and missionaries, and oral narratives and legends, the book traces the history of the Navajo people to their original homeland, Dinetah, located primarily off the present reservation in an area south and east of Farmington, New Mexico. The book discusses various theories on Navajo entry and time of arrival into the region and presents an argument for a Navajo arrival date in the Southwest of 1300 A.D. or earlier. The book emphasizes the cultural-historical significance of the area and the importance of protecting the region as a natural and sacred tribal resource. The book includes an extensive section of photographs of Dinetah Navajo rock art and material culture from the Blanco, Delgadito, Crow, and Palluchi canyons and a 214-item list of references. The second in a series of three, the book is intended to supplement a Navajo Studies program at Rough Rock Demonstration School, Arizona. (NEC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED250143

DINÉTAH

NAVAJO HISTORY VOL. II

by

Robert A. Roessel, Jr.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Regina Lynch

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Edited by

T.L. McCarty

Produced by
Navajo Curriculum Center
and
Title IV-B Materials Development Project
Rough Rock Demonstration School
Rough Rock, Arizona

1983

RC 015032

Copyright © 1983

NAVAJO CURRICULUM CENTER
ROUGH ROCK DEMONSTRATION SCHOOL
ROUGH ROCK, ARIZONA 86503

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED
NO PART OF THIS BOOK MAY BE REPRODUCED OR TRANSMITTED IN ANY FORM OR BY ANY MEANS, ELECTRONIC OR MECHANICAL, INCLUDING PHOTOCOPYING, RECORDING OR BY ANY INFORMATION STORAGE AND RETRIEVAL SYSTEM WITHOUT PERMISSION IN WRITING FROM THE PUBLISHER, EXCEPT BY A REVIEWER WHO MAY QUOTE BRIEF PASSAGES IN A REVIEW.

International Standard Book Number 0-936008-09-1
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 83-6544

FIRST EDITION
Printed in the United States of America

La Plata Color Printing, Inc.
Cortez, Colorado 81321

PUBLICATION OF THIS BOOK
WAS MADE POSSIBLE IN PART BY
TITLE IV, PARTS A and B OF THE INDIAN EDUCATION ACT

ROUGH ROCK SCHOOL BOARD

Wade Hadley, President

Teddy McCurtain, Vice President

Thomas James, Secretary

Simon Secody, Member

Billy Johnson, Member

Jimmie C. Begay, Executive Director

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication V

Dinétah (a poem by Virginia S. Christie) VII

Author's Note VIII

Acknowledgements IX

Foreword X

PART I - Geography and Cuiture History of Dinétah

CHAPTER I - LOCATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DINÉTAH AREA 3
Present and Future Prospects for the Dinétah Region 7
CHAPTER II - ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF THE AREA 9
Navajo Land Claims Investigations (1950-1980) 28
Summary and Evaluation of the Archaeological Record 39

CHAPTER III - THE SPANISH PERIOD: 1540-1821
(including a document by George Hammond) 43
The Rabal Document 67
Evaluation of Historical Records and Their Significance for Dinétah 78

CHAPTER IV - NAVAJO LIFE IN DINÉTAH ACCORDING TO LEGENDS
AND STORIES 81
Description of Early Navajo Economy 83
Chiefs and Councils 84
Intergroup Relations and Social Organization 86
Summary of Mythological and Ethnologic Data 86
Stories of Sacred Origin Sites In Dinétah 89
Significance of Navajo Homeland For the Future 97

CHAPTER V - ENTRY OF THE NAVAJOS INTO THE SOUTHWEST 101
Summary 109

PART II - Dinétah Rock Art and Material Culture

CHAPTER VI - DINÉTAH AND IT'S ROCK ART 113
Blanco Canyon 114
Delgadito Canyon 122
Crow Canyon 125

CHAPTER VII - PALLUCHI CANYON CACHE 135

Footnotes 161
References 167

Dedication. . . . .

Sally and Harry Hadlock -- most knowledgeable and sympathetic of Dinétah friends.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Dedication

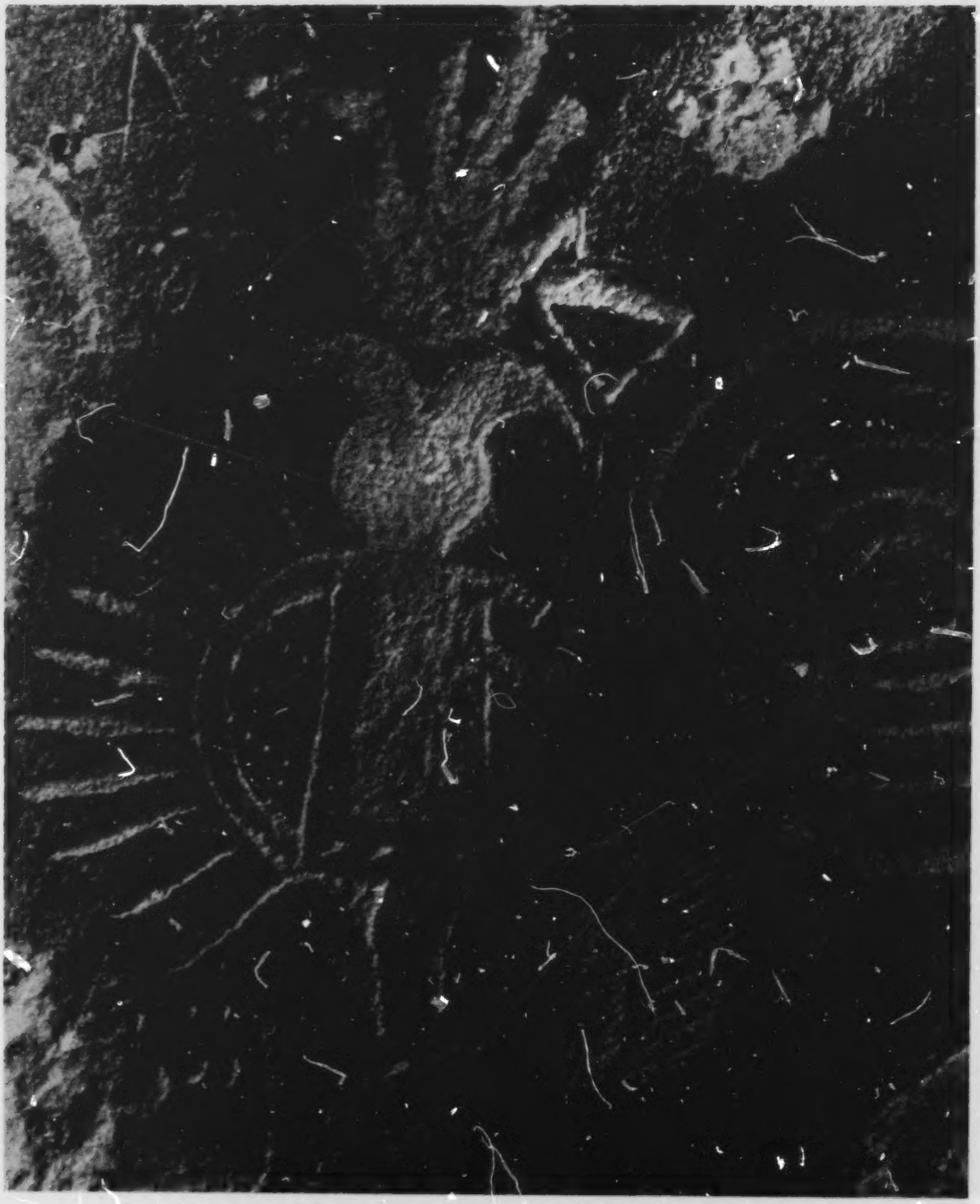
This book is affectionately dedicated to Mr. and Mrs. Harry Hadlock of Waterflow, New Mexico. No two people know the Dinétah area so well, nor has anyone been as unselfish in guiding and informing others about the region.

Harry and Sally Hadlock have devoted over 20 years to researching and identifying all the rock art to be found within Dinétah. Their photographic site books include over 15 volumes. While an employee of a large oil company, Harry Hadlock directed the attention of energy companies to the problem of defacement and desecration of Dinétah's magnificent Navajo and Anasazi rock art. Sally Hadlock's field of specialization is the relationship between Navajo mythology and rock art.

The Hadlocks have always recognized Dinétah's symbolic significance to the Navajos. Their friendship with medicine men and other Navajos has led to a valuable exchange of knowledge on the region's superb rock art.

May God always bless these two outstanding and wonderful people.

R.A.R.



Navajo rock art located near entrance to Crow Canyon -- an excellent representation of *Ghǫǫ́ 'ask' idii,* Humpback Holy Person.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DINÉTAH

I have never walked where Jesus walked, been blessed
by the Pope in the Vatican or made a pilgrimage
to Mecca, but I have been to a Holy City -- *Dinétah*.

The austerity of a stable and magnificence of a
Roman cathedral are combined in one majestic
setting -- in *Dinétah*.

I brought away no Holy Water blessed by mortal man
or any splinter from the Old Rugged Cross, but a
sense of wonder -- from *Dinétah*.

Few modern men have gazed upon the art and stories
told by the Holy People as they patiently molded
the Diné -- of *Dinétah*.

The sand is dry, the shrubs are sparse but the hills,
the homes, the legends in stone, the spirit of Diné
remains -- in *Dinétah*.

I thank my God for giving me a chance to see that Holy
Place where, long ago, Diné began -- to laugh, to love,
to cry -- in *Dinétah*.

Virginia S. Christie
June, 1980

Author's Note

This book about Dinétah is one in a series of publications produced by the Rough Rock Demonstration School. Over the past one-and-a-half decades, the School Board has mandated the teaching of Navajo language and culture as proper and necessary components of the school's curriculum. To implement this mandate, one of the initial actions taken when the school was formed in 1966 was the creation of a Navajo Curriculum Program, linked to both the Navajo Resource Center and Navajo Curriculum Center. Thus did the School Board create an entity which had as its chief responsibility the preparation and publication of Navajo-based materials. This was a vital step in the growth and development of the school. The Navajo Curriculum Program has produced more than one dozen major books dealing with the Navajo people. This publication is another.

The *Dinétah* text deals with the original homeland of the Navajos, located primarily off the present reservation in an area south and east of Farmington, New Mexico. Since Dinétah is the locus of original Navajo habitation in the Southwest, this book includes discussions of various theories on Navajo entry and time of arrival into the region. The theme of this work, however, remains on Dinétah as a geographical and cultural area.[1] Information on Dinétah is presented with photographic illustrations of Navajo rock art, architecture and geographical features of the region.

The reader should understand that this book was written to fulfill a major emphasis of the Rough Rock Demonstration School: instruction of Navajo students in their native language and culture. While these subjects are integrated into an overall, comprehensive, bilingual-bicultural curriculum, they are also considered to have a significance and integrity of their own. This book, then, is intended to supplement a Navajo Studies program at Rough Rock.

Nonetheless, the effort to publish substantial books on these subjects is conceived as a broader one, extending further than the classrooms, students and teachers at Rough Rock. The publications of the Navajo Curriculum Center are designed to be used by all Navajos, and others. In the long run, it is hoped that these books will serve a greater demand -- that of the entire Navajo Nation.

Robert A. Roessel, Jr.
Round Rock, Arizona
July, 1982

---

[1] It is the author's opinion that a text dealing specifically and primarily with the origin of the Navajos and the time of their entry into the Southwest is a must. Originally this book was viewed as a likely prospect for such a discussion. After careful study, however, it was decided to reserve a full presentation on Navajo origins for a subsequent publication.

Acknowledgements

The author is indebted to many individuals who gave unselfishly of their time to aid his understanding. Among these are:

Mr. and Mrs. Harry Hadlock
David Brugge
Martin Link
Curtis Schaafsma
Dorothy Ellis
Ruth Roessel
Ashihie
Sam James

Others who contributed richly to the preparation of this volume include:

Maxine Denetdeel
Broderick H. Johnson
Mary Roessel
Faith Roessel
Bob W. Roessel
Monty Roessel
Raymond Roessel
Marvin Pollard

FOREWORD

In this book Dr. Roessel traces the history of the Navajo people to their original homeland in the Southwest -- Dinétah. To accomplish this, the author draws on several data sources. Part of the story of Dinétah is revealed in a rich collection of archaeological data, summarized in Chapter Two. The chronicles of Spanish explorers and missionaries, presented in Chapter Three, supplement the archaeological record and provide first-hand information on Navajo material culture and social organization during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A third, native perspective is contained in oral narratives and legends (Chapter Four). Each data source discloses a unique aspect of Navajo life in Dinétah. This information, in conjunction with the book's extensive photographs of rock art and material culture, affords a comprehensive view of the first Navajo inhabitants in the Southwest.

The author uses these data sources to emphasize the cultural-historical significance of the Dinétah area. This is even more imperative, he says, in light of ongoing resource development there and the tragic defacement of the region's rock art by vandals and scavengers. Dr. Roessel presents the testimony of native informants who compare Dinétah to the Christian Holy Land, and argues persuasively that the region should be protected as a natural -- and sacred -- tribal resource.

In addition, the author exposes numerous fallacies in current theories on the time of Navajo arrival in the Southwest. Citing abundant archaeological finds of fourteenth through seventeenth century Navajo sites (most of which have not been addressed in the archaeological literature), the written reports of Spanish scribes and material from Navajo legends, he presents a compelling argument for a Navajo arrival date in the Southwest of 1300 A.D. or earlier. The more popular theory that Navajos entered the region several centuries later, he states, rests on "negative evidence," and on data derived primarily from one localized district within a 23-square mile area.

Hence, this book is a contribution to our knowledge of Navajo life during a period of time that has been previously little understood. Perhaps more importantly, *Dinétah* marshals a substantial body of evidence which suggests that Navajos entered and occupied the area much earlier than has been assumed by most scholars. (Native accounts indicate that Navajos lived in Dinétah at least as long as the author claims here.)

From the canyonlands of Dinétah, the Navajos migrated in the eighteenth century to grassy plains and fertile valleys farther west. The composition and tribal organization of the present population are the subjects of another Navajo Curriculum Center publication, *Contemporary Navajo Affairs*. This sequel to *Dinétah*[1] covers the history of tribal government,

---

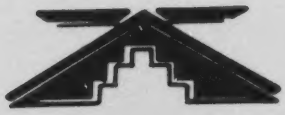
[1] *Dinétah* is the second in a three-volume series on Navajo history. The first volume, edited by Ethelou Yazzie and beautifully illustrated by Andy Tsihnahjinnie and Martin Hoffman, concerns the Navajos' emergence from three underworlds and the mythological history of the tribe. All three volumes are available through the Navajo Curriculum Center.

modern tribal services, resource and economic development, health, and the Navajo-Hopi Joint Use Area. The last topic is particularly relevant given the argument in the present book for tribal reclamation of Dinétah as partial compensation for the land lost to the Hopis in the recent land dispute.

The efforts of many individuals went into the production of this book. In addition to those listed in the "Acknowledgements," Regina Lynch and Fred Bia of Rough Rock's Title IV-B Materials Development Project contributed their time to the final product. Mrs. Lynch carefully typed and retyped the manuscript, and Mr. Bia retouched many of the photographs. Broderick Johnson read and edited an earlier draft of the manuscript, and graciously provided this editor with many valuable suggestions. We could not have gone to press, however, without the tireless dedication of Susan Allman. Now Director of Administration for the Rough Rock School, Susan Allman worked consistently and faithfully to secure funds and organize personnel for the book's publication.

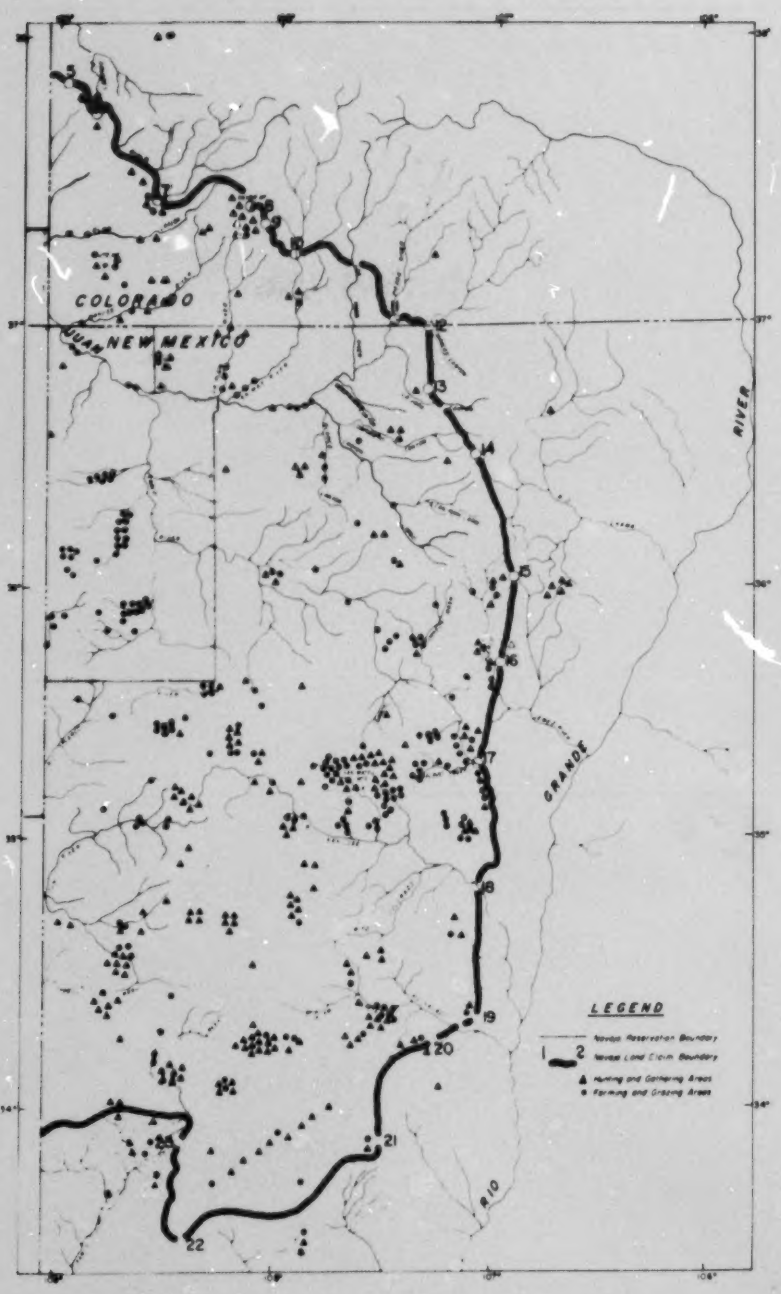
Each person who worked on *Dinétah* did so with enthusiasm and respect for the book's subject matter, and its author. It seems fitting that this book about Navajo origins should be written by one of the originators of Indian community-controlled education. Robert and Ruth Roessel have given much of themselves to the goals that Rough Rock represents. This book is a reflection of their endeavors, and the realization of many of those goals.

Teresa L. McCarty
Navajo Curriculum Center
October, 1982



PART I

Geography and Culture History of Dinétah



Map of Navajo Land Claims area, including eastern reservation and canyonlands of Dinétah.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHAPTER ONE

Location and Significance of the Dinétah Area

THE LOCATION OF DINÉTAH is difficult to specify with precision. In general terms, it is located south and east of Farmington, New Mexico, and includes Blanco, Largo, Carrizo and Gobernador Canyons. How far east and south it extends is not clearly known. Big Bead Mesa appears to be located too far east and south to be included in Dinétah, although it was a Navajo site in later years (c. 1745 to 1812). The seventeenth century Navajo hogan sites located by Curt Schaafsma in the Chama Valley, however, are farther east and north. For the purposes of this book, Dinétah will be defined to include Blanco, Largo, Carrizo and Gobernador Canyons and their surrounding drainages in northwestern New Mexico.

The significance of this area for the Navajo people was noted by J.P. Harrington in 1940:[1]

> *It is well known to every Navaho that the tribe was anciently much smaller than it is now and that it developed in a region lying partly in the easternmost portion of the present Navaho Reservation. This old homeland is still known to all the Navahos as Tinétzah, literally, "among the Navaho," that is, "the home of the real old-time Navaho." This Navaho expression would be more literally rendered by the French idiom, "chez les Navahos," meaning, "in the homeland of the Navahos" or "Navaho homeland place."*[2]

Thus, Dinétah's import is cultural and historical. It is the homeland of the Navajos according to the written records of Spanish scribes, archaeologists and other scholars; more importantly, the cultural significance of the area is documented throughout Navajo oral history.

Dinétah is the site on which Changing Woman (*Asdzáán Nádleehé*) was raised, and to which the first four Navajo clans arrived on their journey from the western ocean. Changing Woman, one of the best loved and important Navajo dieties, was found as a small baby by the Holy People[3] on top of *Ch'óol'íí* (Gobernador Knob, located inside the Dinétah area). Changing Woman -- also known as White Shell Woman -- was raised on top of *Dzilna'oodilii* (Huerfano Mesa, about 30 miles west of *Ch'óol'íí*) by her benefactors, First Man and First Woman.

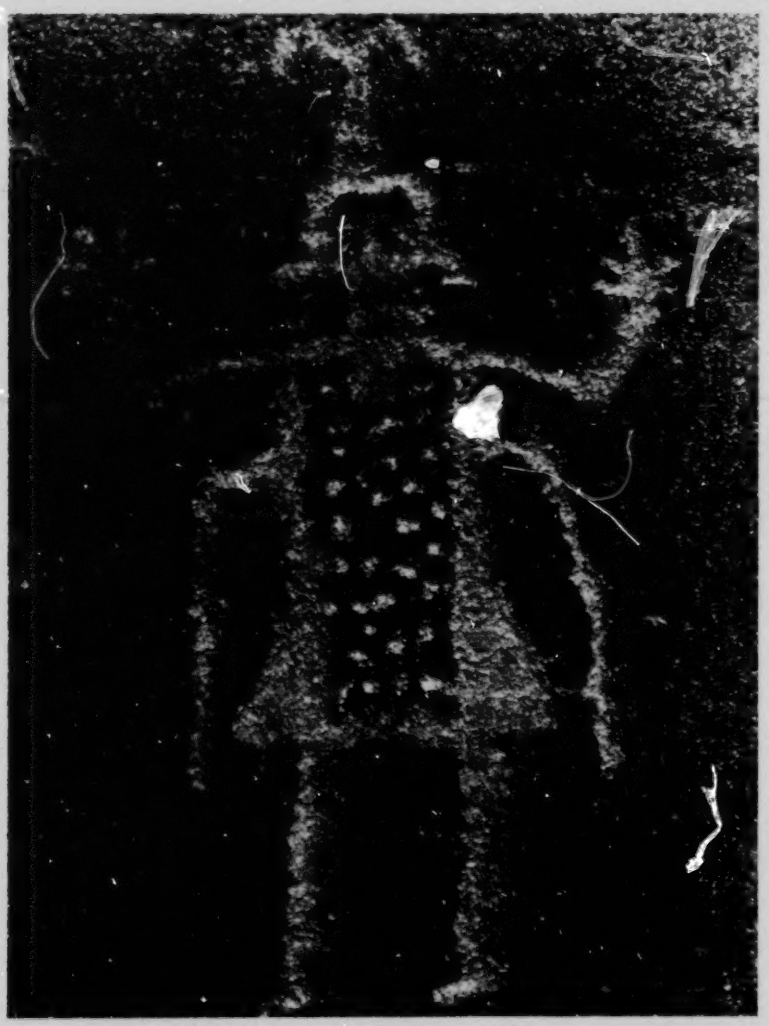
Dinétah is thus significant as the birthplace and home of Changing Woman. But it is also

Dinétah. View to the north from a Navajo hogan site located on a high ridge, near the south entrance of Crow Canyon. The canyon walls visible from the center of the photograph contain examples of Crow Canyon rock art.

Dzilna'oodilii (Huerfano Mesa, New Mexico), the place where Changing Woman raised her sons, Monster Slayer *(Naayéé' Neezghání)* and Child Born of Water *(Tó Bájíschíní)*.

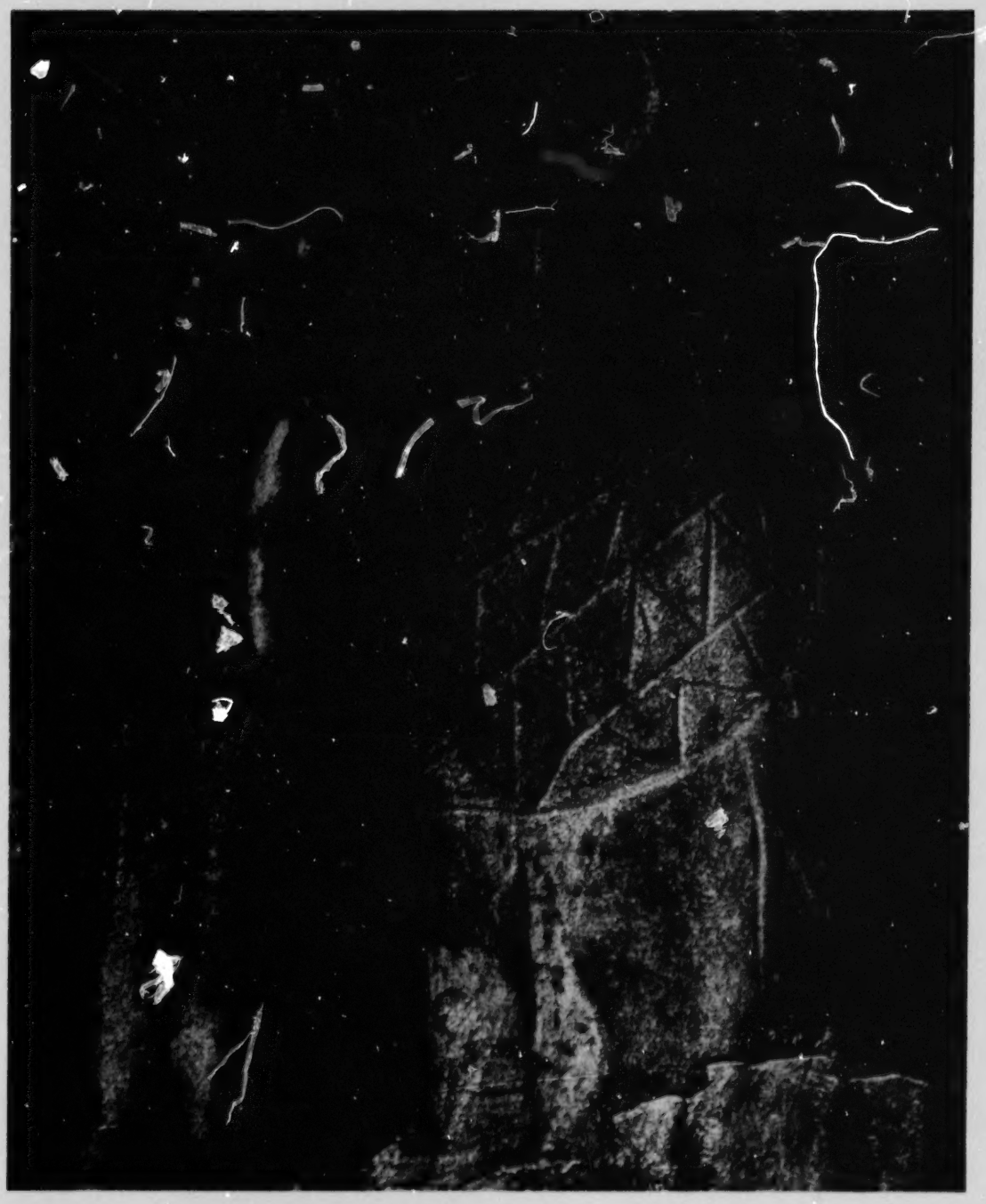
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

the area in which the earliest recorded history finds the Navajo people living. Both Fray Salmerón and Fray Benavides describe the Navajos as living in this region in the seventeenth century.



Crow Canyon rock art, showing a figure with headdress.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Navajo rock art in Blanco Canyon depicts Monster Slayer, the child of Changing Woman, holding a flint shield.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Present and Future Prospects For the Dinétah Region

Until the discovery of gas and oil in the area during the 1950s, the Dinétah region remained a relatively isolated one in which transportation was difficult. Today, the entire landscape is marked by thousands of oil and gas wells, each accessible by a good dirt road. Maintenance and servicing of the wells is important, so roads crisscross in all directions. It is not known how long development of these resources can be pursued. According to officials representing oil and gas interests in the area, the potential for this development will be exhausted in another 20 to 25 years.

The Navajo Tribe has shown little interest in using the area as compensation for the land lost to the Hopis in the Navajo-Hopi dispute. Clearly, as long as there are oil and gas interests at stake and these companies maintain leases there, the Dinétah area will not be returned to the tribe. Nevertheless it would seem to be in the tribe's best interests to make every legitimate effort to acquire title, even if it is necessary to wait 25 years to recover this sacred early homeland.

Fortified pueblito located high on the south side of Crow Canyon. Notice the example of rock art near the lower center of the photograph. Logs are original and were used as a ladder to enter the pueblito.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHAPTER TWO

Archaeological History of the Area

THIS SECTION ON THE archaeological history of Dinétah is perhaps the easiest to write. Numerous scholars have worked in the region, providing a rich -- although varied -- data base. While differences appear in conclusions based on archaeological finds, a long and fruitful exploration of the area has resulted.

This chapter is arranged according to author and date of publication. This approach may seem to "personalize" the examination of Navajo archaeology, but it is not necessarily a disadvantage. Most publications on the archaeology of Dinétah are similarly organized, beginning with the earliest published report. The chronological approach serves to illuminate cumulative data on the region as well as the changing schools of thought which inform researchers' interpretations.

Some cautionary notes regarding the cited publications are in order. Specific articles dealing with such phenomena as rock art generally have not been included,[1] and some publications have been excluded because they did not seem relevant or particularly germane to the subject matter.[2] Others have been excluded because they repeat major publications by the same individual which *are* included here,[3] or because they reiterate other published research.[4] The reports covered in this section are listed in Table 1 (p.10).

Alfred V. Kidder (1920). The first published account of the archaeology of the Upper San Juan Valley in New Mexico (specifically Gobernador and Largo Canyons) was made in 1920 by A.V. Kidder. His report[5] briefly discusses a 1912 visit to three groups of ruins in the Gobernador and Largo Canyons. Kidder believes the ruins to be historic rather than prehistoric, citing as evidence the hooded fireplace, abundant use of large wood, and cow and sheep bones.

In addition to masonry wall ruins Kidder found hogan-like structures built within the enclosing defensive walls. Three types of pottery identified as blackware, thick two- and three-color painted ware, and thin three-color painted ware, were associated with the ruins. Kidder concludes that: 1) the houses or structures were built during the historic period, and 2) their builders probably were in contact with Navajos, who made circular earth-covered lodges.

Stanley Stubbs (1930). The School of American Research in Santa Fe dispatched Stubbs into the Blanco, La Jara, Francis and Gobernador Canyons in the late 1920s. His investigation was hampered by extremely rainy weather. Stubbs also cites geographical isolation as a factor which has hindered adequate archaeological study of the region.

Stubbs' report[6] describes small house ruins located on high isolated rocks which are

TABLE I. Published Accounts of Archaeological Research in the Dinétah Area

Author	Site/Subject	Date
A.V. Kidder	Upper San Juan Valley	1920
Stanley Stubbs	Gobernador, Blanco, La Jara and Francis Canyons	1930
Frank Hibben	Chama Valley	1937
H.P. Mera	Largo Valley	1938
Roy L. Malcolm	Chaco Canyon	1939
Dorothy L. Keur	Big Bead Mesa; Gobernador Canyon	1941; 1944
Malcolm L. Farmer	Largo and Blanco Canyons; Upper Largo	1942; 1947
B.H. and H.A. Huscher	Hogan-builders of central-western Colorado	1943
Edward T. Hall, Jr.	Gobernador Region	1944
R. Van Valkenburgh	Big Bead Mesa	1945
Carroll L. Riley	Dinétah area; Navajo origins	1954
Lee H. Marmon and George C. Pearl	Big Bead Mesa	1958
R. Gwinn Vivian	Chacra Mesa	1960
Polly Schaafsma	Navajo Reservoir (rock art)	1962; 1963
James J. Hester	Navajo migration and acculturation	1962
James J. Hester and Joel Shiner	Navajo Reservoir District	1963
Bryant Bannister	Chaco Canyon	1965
Roy L. Carlson	18th Century Navajo fortress	1965
Frank Eddy	Navajo Reservoir District	1966
M.A. Stokes and T.L. Smiley	Navajo Land Claims area	1966; 1969
David Stahle	Navajo archeaology in light of LA-2298	1973
John P. Wilson and A.H. Warren	LA-2298	1974
Curtis Schaafsma	Chama area	1975-78
E. Charles Adams	Southwestern Colorado, Gobernador Phase sites	1976
Charles Reher	Lower Chaco River	1977
Harry Hadlock	Archaeology and rock art of Crow and Largo Canyons	1979
Navajo Land Claims Investigators	Dinétah and entire Navajo region	1950-80

suggestive of watch towers or small fortifications because they command wide views and are difficult to approach. He observes that certain beams used in the dwellings were cut with a metal axe, and surmises that some of the ruins were reoccupied in "comparatively recent times."

Artifacts collected during Stubbs' investigation include basketry, medicine pouches of buckskin and fox skin, cradleboards, digging sticks and large Navajo cooking pots. Further, Stubbs notes that the "Gobernador area abounds in pictographs, some painted on flat surfaces and walls, others gauged out of the soft stone."[7]

Frank Hibben (1937). After exploring sites in the Chama River drainage in north-central New Mexico, Hibben reports lodge sites which he says were once occupied by Ute Indians.[8] He describes these sites as more suggestive of hogans than lodges:[9]

> *. . . . (T)hey seem to have been built entirely or in part of posts and split beams set vertically on end and coming together at an apex in the center. The base of the posts was further supported by a pile of boulders laid around them, and by several large sandstone slabs leaned up against them to cover up some of the larger cracks. Several of these lodges are made up of two or more single circular units, so as to make a building in the form of a figure eight with a connection between and in some cases with another smaller edifice attached to one side. Many of the beams of these lodges are still in place, and their construction can be clearly seen.*

Hibben reports no pottery associated with the lodge sites, but Tewa polychrome and some plain burnished ware were found at the tepee rings. The rings, approximately seven feet in diameter, were discovered throughout the Chama drainage. Firepits were sometimes found in the center or to one side of the tepee circle.

H.P. Mera (1938). Mera's account of the Largo Cultural Phase in northern New Mexico [10] is based on excavation and exploration of "that section drained by the western tributaries of the Upper Chama and southeasternmost affluents of the San Juan Rivers." [11] Interested in the relationship of Woodland-like pottery types in an otherwise predominantly Pueblo cultural complex, Mera observes that such pottery was in use from the beginning of the twelfth century until about the first part of the fourteenth century.

During the seventeenth century, Mera says, "an Athapaskan people (Navajo) were first noted who used pottery possessing striking similarities to the Woodland-like forms of the earlier Largo Phase." [12] Mera also notes that during the first half of the eighteenth century, groups of Pueblo people are known to have left their original homes, finding others to the north of Navajo territory. He concludes that:

> *Here, evidence shows they (Puebloans) became so closely associated with the Navajos that, although the use of Pueblo styles in decorated pottery was continued, the indigenous Woodland-like type practically superceded their own utility wares. During this association a new and distinct type of polychrome pottery, decorated with Puebloan designs on an orange-colored ground, first appears.*[13]

Roy L. Malcolm (1939). Malcolm undertook a reconnaissance of Navajo archaeological sites, most located on or near the base of Chacra Mesa, during the summer of 1937. His investigation uncovered 48 probable Navajo sites, many associated with stone masonry

hogans. This evidence led Malcolm to elaborate Kidder's earlier theory that the Navajo-Pueblo association at Gobernador represents a refugee settlement of Puebloans and Navajos who fled there after the last native insurrection against the Spanish in 1696. "Being in a wild, inaccessible district," Malcolm writes, "it would have afforded an ideal refuge." [14]

Malcolm also located rock shelters on ledges near the top and occasionally on the rim and floors along the base of Chacra Mesa. These shelters he identifies as Navajo because of the abundance of Navajo unpainted utility wares; the pottery is identical to Kidder's "blackware." Malcolm indirectly addresses the issue of pottery forms and the relationship between Gallina and Navajo pottery, pointing out that certain Navajo shapes also were used by the Gallina, and that the conical-bottomed pottery observed by Frank Hibben dates from the twelfth century.

Malcolm's investigation uncovered a Navajo burial in which the body was wrapped in alternating layers of textile and hide. The hide (buffalo) was placed next to the body, with the hair turned toward the inside. The textile was a plain rusty black and white wool in alternating stripes. According to Malcolm, this find indicates a possible earlier date than the Pueblo Rebellion for the establishment of weaving as a tribal craft. Some beginnings may have been made earlier, he suggests: [15]

> *It would be rash to assume that a tribe of semi-nomadic huntsmen could, in the short space of a century, make the fundamental readjustments implicit in the pastoral mode of life and the practice of weaving.*

Malcolm concludes that his data suggest "increasing evidence of Pueblo influence in certain phases of Navajo material culture, though the whole may still be predominantly a mixture of the hypothetical Navajo and sources other than Pueblo." [16]

Dorothy L. Keur (1941). Keur's *Big Bead Mesa* was the first book-length publication dealing exclusively with Navajo archaeology on the eastern and southern periphery of Dinétah. [17] Her research was undertaken in the summer of 1939 and was limited to a single mesa located in Guadelupe Canyon, 20 miles southwest of Cabezón (about 100 miles due south of Gobernador).

Keur found the following architectural features:

1) *forked stick hogan* (with stones as support at base of timber; large stone slabs and piles of small stones or piers marking doorway);

2) *circular stone wall type* (partly a stone wall, partly a natural sandstone outcrop used to complete a circle; some timber present, with large stone slabs and piles of small stones or piers marking doorway);

3) *evidence only from an irregular circle of stones set in ground* (may have been a form of #1 or #2, above; partly of stones set in earth, partly a natural sandstone outcrop used to complete circle; with some timber present, a few stones in a circle; large stone slabs and piles of small stones marking doorway); and

4) *hogan types of neither timber nor stone* (site determined by a lack of ground cover and experimental trenching for firepit).

The investigator reports no evidence that any timber used in hogan construction had been cut with a metal axe. Doorways almost always occurred on the eastern sides of dwellings. A total of 95 hogans were encountered, and there was considerable evidence of sweathouses, usually identified by piles and disordered heaps of fire-reddened stones.

Keur characterizes the Big Bead Mesa hogan sites as "purer"Navajo, showing less indication of close long, continuous contact with Puebloans than those further north. Dendrochronological dates suggest that Big Bead Mesa and vicinity were occupied by Navajos from 1745 (+20) to 1812 (+20).

The most unusual discovery at Big Bead Mesa, however, was its extensive and elaborate fortification. A great wall, 12 feet high and 26 feet long -- by far the most spectacular feature on the mesa top -- cut off the northeastern spur from the remainder of the mesa. Other less spectacular defenses were also observed (*e.g.,* boulders placed where they could be pushed down upon the enemy). Keur writes of this find: "The entire breastwork complex here shows great care and expenditure of labor and effort in its construction. This suggests both urgent need for defense and fairly long-time occupation." [18]

Evidence of pottery at Big Bead Mesa is fairly abundant.[19] Seventy-five per cent of the sherds are Navajo utility ware; only one per cent is Gobernador polychrome. Historic Pueblo wares comprise 12 per cent of the total, while Anasazi wares account for another 12 per cent.

View from a Navajo hogan site located on a high ridge at the south entrance into Crow Canyon. Heavy timbers used in construction are seen in the right center and left edge of the photograph.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The pottery, according to Keur, shows that the Navajos clung to traditional (Navajo) cooking ware for general use, thus -- ceramically, at least -- maintaining their cultural identity.

Keur also found substances used to make sandpaintings. A cache was uncovered which contained materials to make the colors red, yellow, white and black. A single burial, that of a mature female, was also located.

Keur concludes: [20]

> *Big Bead Mesa and environs thus suggest a stage in acculturation of the Navaho in which they have passed the period of initial impact of Pueblo culture, but nonetheless show a profound influence of the stable, sedentary, agricultural Pueblo pattern upon their basic nomadic one. The basic Navaho pattern still exists in the forked stick hogan, hunting as an important part of their economy, evidences of ceremonial life and the use of the undecorated conical or round-bottomed cooking pot. Some Pueblo traits show fairly thorough integration into the Navaho pattern, such as the use of masonry in the angular stone-walled hogans, the presence of deflectors beside the hogan fire pits, and the use of maize as an important part of the basic economy... The great walled fortification at Big Bead, while employing masonry for its construction, is nevertheless unique in several structural features, suggesting Navaho ingenuity, and lending a lot of local color to the scene.*

Fortified pueblito, showing entrance door.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Malcolm Farmer (1942). In 1938 Farmer and a team of investigators surveyed a portion of the Dinétah area, which he subsequently characterized as "an area known to modern Navajo Indians as .... 'Navaho country,' 'Navaho homeland place,' " and .... "recognized by them as the homeland of their ancestors."[21] Most of the sites in Farmer's survey are fortified, with towers stategically located on buttes and high promontories above the canyon, so placed in relation to each other that they form a chain of observation points. Fortification walls are common. Buttes and mesa points often have walls along their edges or across narrow places; a wall, 200 feet long, was located on one mesa rim in Upper Blanco Canyon.

Farmer notes a number of petroglyphs, particularly in Ricon Largo, a western tributary of Largo Canyon. An hourglass-shaped figure was found at a fortified butte to the south of Blanco Canyon and overlooking the Chaco drainage.

In all, Farmer covered an area of about 250 square miles in his survey. Twenty-nine different sites were located, and 43 dwellings of the forked stick variety were found. Two of these were excavated. While it was difficult to reconstruct the forked stick hogan because most

Remains of a hooded fireplace inside a room in a fortified pueblito, Dinétah area.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

of its structures were poorly preserved, the investigators determined there were from three to six main logs arranged in a conical framework, with their forked ends interlocked. In most of the dwellings the doorway faced east; trash dumps were found a short distance (two to three meters) northeast of doorways. The time span represented by these deposits does not seem very extensive.

Farmer provides the following tree-ring dates for the two excavated sites: 1762 ±15 A.D., 1725 A.D.and 1745 ±10 A.D. This data implies a time range from 1735 to 1777 A.D. for both sites. [22]

Towers of crudely-coursed sandstone slabs, some two stories high and following the rock contours on which they were erected, are among the most impressive features in Farmer's survey. Some contain hooded fireplaces, an innovation associated with the Spanish. Farmer discusses the possible origin and function of the tower-building complex, but concludes only that its origin is far from clear.

Two types of metates were found in the excavated sites: a slab and a trough open at one end. Both types were distributed throughout the sites; the trough-type was more common at campsites.

Thirty-two projectile points of no specific type were located in the excavated remains. Animal bones retrieved include deer, cottontail rabbit, jack rabbit, antelope, porcupine, wood rat, horse, sheep and cattle. Deer bones are the most plentiful; remains of domestic animals are uncommon.

Of a total of 1,054 plain pot sherds, 513 were Dinétah-scored. This pottery was found at all sites and in the excavations. Eighty sherds were found which were brown with fairly thick walls, spiral-coiling, and scraped and smoothed interior surfaces. On the outside, the coils are smoothed but partially obliterated, making an irregualr surface. Farmer links this form to Gallina utility ware.

The largest group of decorated pottery (accounting for 66 of 175 sherds) is a red-and-black-on-orange ware. Instrusive pottery accounts for 106 sherds.

Farmer's analysis of these archaeological sites is open-ended: [23]

> *The reconstruction of Navajo history by means of archaeological techniques is just being established and promises to be interesting and informative . . . As has been pointed out previously there is a great need for "dirt" archaeology relative to the early Navaho, and all possible relationships to other areas and cultures must necessarily remain mostly speculation until concrete evidence is uncovered.*

B.H. and H.A. Huscher (1943). A lengthy article by these researchers entitled "The Hogan Builders of Colorado," appeared in *Southwestern Lore* in 1943. [24] Some have criticized the Huschers' work as incomplete and as possibly lumping together two or more distinct cultural groups. Despite these criticisms and the fact that the Huschers focus on an area outside Dinétah, their observations shed light on possible Southern Athapaskan settlement patterns and entry into the Southwest.

The Huschers describe a number of sites situated at conspicuous elevations and scattered throughout central and western Colorado. These sites contain circular or curved dry-masonry walls. The authors speculate that the sites' occupants were moving southward: [25]

From the evidence we conclude that the Colorado hogan sites in all probability record the southward passage of any of several groups of southern Athapaskans, and that they represent a time range of many hundreds of years, with a distinct possibility that the hogan builders may have been here early enough to have influenced the Basket-maker Pueblo culture change. The main mountain ranges of the western United States, far from constituting barriers, more likely were the corridors by which the Athapaskan movements took place.

Dorothy Keur (1944). In 1944 Keur reported on archaeological investigations undertaken during the summer of 1940.[26] At this time she visited the canyons of Compañero, San Rafael, Muñoz, Gobernador, Frances, La Jara and Pueblito, concentrating on the Gobernador Canyon area. Sites consisted of groups of hogans and mixed groups of pueblitos or tower-pueblitos with hogans clustered nearby. At 24 sites the hogan groups were devoid of any association with pueblito architectural forms; at another 26 pueblitos and tower-pueblitos, 22 were clearly associated with hogan groups.

A total of 273 hogans were located in the course of the summer's exploration, of which 19 were excavated. Two of the pueblitos and tower-pueblitos were excavated.

Pottery was abundant with sherds scattered over all the sites. The pottery was classified in four major groups: Navajo Utility ware, Gobernador Polychrome, Pueblito wares of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and Pit House wares.[27] Navajo Utility ware constitutes 79 per cent of all sherd material, with Gobernador Polychrome accounting for 14 per cent and another five per cent from typically Puebloid painted wares. In all, the Gobernador region shows the greatest ceramic activity.

The earliest dated piece of wood (1656 ±20) was retrieved from a hogan in Pueblito Canyon. The latest date (1771 ±5) was obtained from a hogan on the slope of Gobernador Knob. These dates indicate an earlier occupation here than at Big Bead Mesa. Keur notes:[28]

The sites in the Gobernador area differ from all other eighteenth century Navaho sites investigated to date in the close association of hogans with pueblitos . . . The location and character of many sites is defensive. Since many rebellious Puebloans fled north to escape Spanish reprisals at the end of the seventeenth century . . . this is, in all likelihood, a refuge area, a place where the unrooted Puebloans joined the erstwhile hostile Navahos to hide out from a common foe.

Edward T. Hall, Jr. (1944). Hall's book, *Early Stockaded Settlements in the Gobernador, New Mexico,* provides the most complete coverage of the area to date.[29] This publication reports on marginal Anasazi development from Basketmaker III to Pueblo I time periods, with special attention to the Rosa Phase (700 to 900 A.D.) in the Gobernador region. Hall hypothesizes that the Gobernador area contained two thriving aboriginal populations, one occupying the area from about 700 to 900 A.D., and a second from about 1500 to 1780 A.D.[30]

Most of Hall's text is devoted to accounts of the excavation of Rosa pit houses. Conical-shaped pottery does not occur in the Rosa Phase, he says, but rather in the Largo Gallina Phase (by 1100 A.D.). Hall postulates that such pottery first appeared in the Southwest around 1000 A.D.[31]

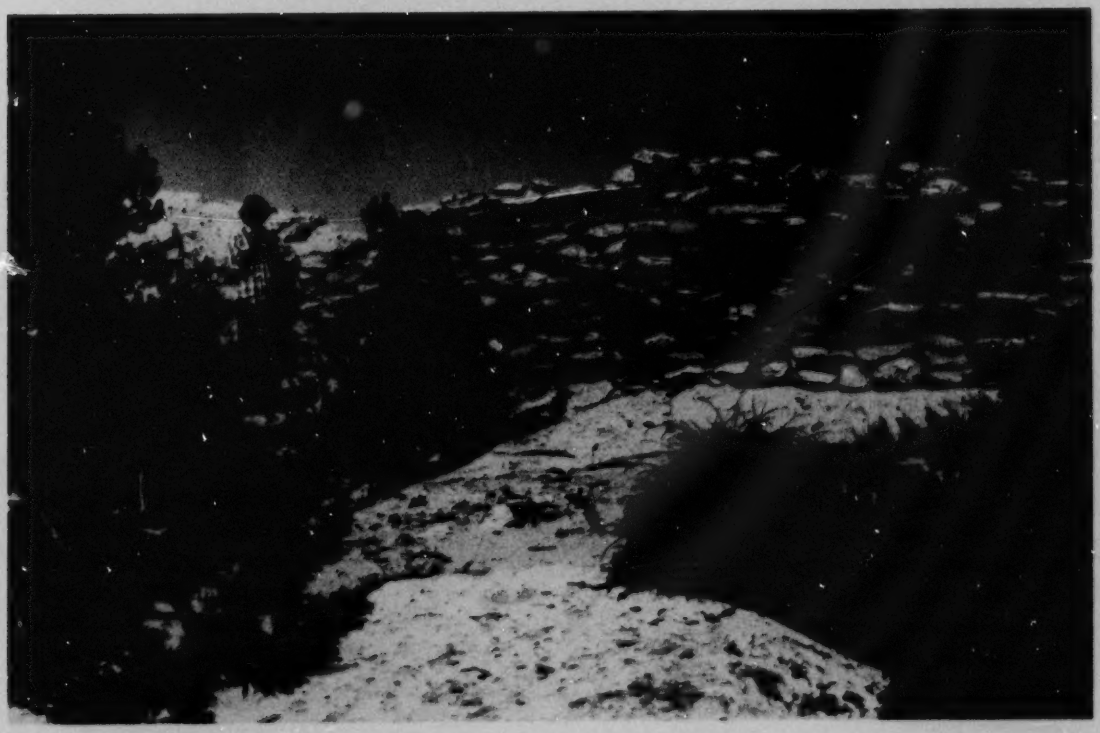
Hall's research reduces the 400-year time gap between the Gobernador and Largo-

Gallina Phases to 300 years. His reduction is based on an extension of the earliest dates for the Gobernador Phase to the early 1300s. New studies to the east of Gobernador are essential, Hall claims, to properly identify the variables affecting change during this time period.

Hall discusses Navajo archaeology only indirectly, but takes the view that Navajo archaeological history extends further back than is commonly believed. He states that, "For the present, we may assume that the Navajo were in the region by 1500, possibly earlier."[32]

Hall subsequently published an article describing "Recent Clues to Athapaskan Prehistory in the Southwest,"[33] in which he addresses Navajo origins more directly. Citing recent studies in Navajo archaeology, he remarks on the persistence of certain cultural traits such as the forked stick hogan, cooking ware, and emphasis on agriculture. Despite the Navajos' many contacts with Puebloans, Utes, Comanches, Spaniards and Anglo-Americans, Hall writes, these cultural traits have changed little in the past 240 years.[34]

Hall postulates that Navajos first entered the Southwest to the north and east of their present range. A hogan site in the Gobernador region dating from 1491+x to 1541±20, is suggestive of the time of Navajo arrival in the region, he says. Hall states: "Our record of Navaho occupation has been constantly pushed backward so that we now have concrete evidence of their occupation of the Gobernador for over 200 years, circa 1540 to 1760."[35]



A rock wall in the Dinétah area isolates the mesa top from the rest of the mesa.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Discussing various phases of ceramic activity, Hall places the gap between the earliest dated Navajo remains and the latest dated Gallina sites at approximately 300 years. He further reduces this gap to 200 years, claiming that the first dated hogan and the last Largo houses do not provide terminal dates, and then allows another 50 years at each end of the gap. He concludes that the Navajos may have been in the Southwest for nearly a millenium: [36]

> *We also know that the Navaho although flexible in their acceptance and integration of new culture items, have also a capacity for maintaining certain items in their own culture, such as the forked stick hogan, and could have occupied the Southwest for the past 900 years and still maintain their cultural integrity.*

Richard Van Valkenburgh (1945). Van Valkenburgh's popular article describes the visit of Dr. John Keur and the Keurs' discovery, with John Toledo, of Big Bead Mesa.[37] Their exploration, which revealed nearly 70 hogans and the impressive fortification wall, places the Big Bead occupation at 700 to 1800 A.D. In a letter to John Toledo, Van Valkenburgh comments on the implications of the Big Bead Mesa discovery: [38]

> *. . . This work in which you helped has pushed the eastern boundary of the Old Navajo 75 miles east of the present reservation line. There is no question as to the justice of your claim to ancestral lands along the Rio Puerco as well as to the Cañon Largo to the north. History as well as archaeological data confirm your moral if not the legal right of the Navajo to these lands.*

Malcolm F. Farmer (1947). In an article that appeared in *Kiva* magazine,[39] Farmer summarizes the available data on the Dinétah region and Navajo prehistory. He presents the following scenario. A group of Upper Largo Navajo entered that area around 1500 A.D. or sooner, and quickly became an independent Apachean entity. Prior to this time (1200 to 1400 A.D.), the Upper Largo area was little used, but during "the period of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 to 1692, some years after the early Navajo were established in the Largo, many Rio Grande Pueblo people came to the Gobernador-Largo region to escape the Spanish."[40]

These early Navajos, Farmer writes, were hunters and gatherers who subsisted on deer, antelope and smaller game, wild food plants and seeds.[41] They were also horticultural and pastoral, raising corn, squash and beans and keeping flocks of sheep. Their dwellings were of the forked stick hogan variety, but included a tower or pueblito built of roughly-coursed sandstone slabs. Clothing included both buckskin and woven garments.

Pottery-making was an important early Navajo activity, according to Farmer. A gray utility ware and a decorated buff or reddish orange ware were both in use. These were deep pots with rounded or pointed bottoms. Decorated wares with geometric and naturalistic designs were also known. Some Pueblo-type pottery, which may have been traded or made by Puebloans living in the area, was also present.

Three kinds of arrow points were used: 1) triangular with a notch on each side near the base; 2) triangular with barbs and an expanding stem; and 3) stemmed with a triangular blade, slight shoulders, parallel-sided stem and a notched base.

The small groups of dwellings at Navajo sites suggest to Farmer a social structure similar to that found among modern Navajos. He notes that towers appear to be arranged to

permit observation of at least two other towers or sites. These architectural features, Farmer states, are reflective of the constant threat of attack which characterized eighteenth century Navajo life in the Upper Largo.

Farmer notes that there is little archaeological evidence directly related to a religious-ceremonial complex. Petroglyphs, he adds, may be indicative of such activity.

Carroll L. Riley (1954). Riley also summarizes archaeological investigation of the Dinétah area, organizing the data according to: 1) Navajo-Apache origins, and 2) Navajo or Proto-Navajo sites in the San Juan area, Northern periphery, Chama Valley, Southern area, Chaco Canyon, Canyon de Chelly, and Western area.[42]

Riley cites Hall's work as evidence that the earliest Navajo sites occur in the canyonlands of Dinétah. These sites are tentatively identified by the hogan house type and three kinds of pottery: Navajo Utility ware, Gobernador Polychrome and Navajo Polychrome. Riley notes that Gallina utility pottery, however, is practically indistinguishable from eighteenth and nineteenth century Navajo Utility ware.[43]

More comparative archaeological studies of non-Puebloan Southwestern peoples are required to illuminate the specifics of Navajo origins, Riley states. Nevertheless, he makes the tentative observation that: "The Navajo Indians, one of a number of Apachean-speaking people, seem to have entered the Southwest before 1500 A.D. and possibly several hundred years earlier."[44]

Lee H. Marmon and George C. Pearl (1958). Marmon and Pearl revisited Big Bead Mesa in 1957. Their report,[45] like Keur's in 1941, cites the massive fortification lying 10 miles southwest of Cabezón Peak as the site's single most impressive feature. This wall or fortification is described as stretched entirely across the 30-foot neck of the mesa.[46] Although most of the sandstone and adobe wall construction has weathered away, the wall appears to be the best preserved of all sites originally excavated by Keur. The investigators report a door in the wall center and a ledge (two feet in width) situated approximately six feet from the uppermost interior wall.

Marmon and Pearl make the following comments on the wall's striking appearance:[47]

> *One feature in her (Keur's) evaluation is repeatedly noticeable -- the 'uniqueness' of the high fortification wall in not only Big Bead but all other recorded Navajo architectual complexes. Actual inspection of the wall makes the uniqueness the more apparent. Its strategic location, creating of the sheer walled potrero-tip a virtual donjon — keep or 'last ditch' fortress for all the inhabitants of the extended Big Bead area; its 'firewall' to protect warriors stationed on the second story ledge, above the doorway; its tapered defense parts; its interior 'curtain-wall' to shield a direct assault by missles or men through the doorway; its possible 'guard house' against its inner face, protected by a covered entrance-way to the rear and possibly giving access to the ledge and 'firewall' by a roof opening; all these are seemingly 'non-Navajo' and equally 'non-Pueblo' at least in their planned totality.*

Only a few dozen potsherds were found in Marmon and Pearl's investigation of the area, and no artifacts were uncovered. This was attributed to the thoroughness of Keur's work conducted nearly 20 years prior to this study.

R. Gwinn Vivian (1960). In a master's thesis entitled, "The Navajo Archaeology of the Chacra Mesa, New Mexico,"[48] Vivian classifies the culture traits and traditions of the Chacra Navajos as follows:

1) *House remains and other architectural features* distinguished by the forked stick hogan with eastern extended entryway, central firepit depression and pot-rests in the floor; rock shelters, fortified buttes and sweathouses.

2) *Material culture* including Navajo culinary ware, a stone chipping and flaking technology (projectile points, choppers, hammerstones), stone pot lids, bone awls, forked juniper poles, notched log ladders and basketry.

3) *Economic system* focused on hunting and gathering with occasional raiding for livestock.

4) *Miscellaneous traits* including caching and pictographs.

Vivian lists these Pueblo traits evident in the area:

1) *House remains and other architectural features*[49] characterized by multiple-room masonry, stone and mortar construction, oval, square and rectangular rooms, flat roofs, Pueblo-type doorways, plastered floors, plastered and whitewashed walls, windows, port holes, wall niches, mealing bins, double oval and single oval masonry structures,* masonry hogans and storage bins.*

2) *Material culture* comprised of brown utility ware,* Navajo decorated and Gobernador Polychrome pottery,* Ashiwi Polychrome, Acoma/Hopi-influenced wares, Zuni Polychrome, Hopi ware, Tewa Polychrome, Santa Domingo Polychrome, glasswares, black polished ware, manos and metates, digging stick and loom batten.

3) *Economics* consisting of maize cultivation.

Spanish influences in Chacra Mesa, according to Vivian, include the following:

1) *House remains and other architectural features* distinguished by tower-like structures with parapet walls, corner-hooded fireplaces and corrals.

2) *Economic system* based primarily on horse and sheep herding.

Vivian notes that, "there is little precise archaeological data to support or refute historical reference to the Navajo in the sixteenth century,"[50] adding that no structures from the Chacra Mesa are dated in the Dinétah Phase. The exception is CM-35 (a hogan site), which dates from 1350 to 1598 A.D. This has proved to be a controversial finding, Vivian says, for these dates are too late for the ruin to have been inhabited by Puebloans and too early to reflect a Navajo occupation.

Navajo culture was in a period of stability between 1600 to 1800 A.D., Vivian states.

Photo (left), shows timber cut by a stone axe which looks as if it was gnawed by a beaver.

A pile of wood, ready to use, was stacked outside of a fortified pueblito on the south side of Crow Canyon.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

When new, non-Navajo traditions were introduced, they may have modified native traits but in time the new traits reverted to a basic Navajo pattern.

Polly Schaafsma (1962; 1963). Schaafsma's 1962 study of the rock art of Navajo Reservoir describes each petroglyph site, its location and methods of construction.[51] Unfortunately, most of Schaafsma's examples are now covered with water from Navajo Dam.

In a subsequent publication on the same topic and area, Schaafsma includes both Pueblo and Navajo rock art.[52] She indicates that no pictographs can be identified as belonging to the early Dinétah Phase; Navajo pictographs in the Reservoir District are believed to date from the Gobernador Phase (1698 to 1775 A.D.). The majority of these contain religious or supernatural subjects which show a Pueblo influence "in form and style as well as a great likeness to modern Navajo religious art."[53] According to Schaafsma, Navajo rock art is distinguished from the much earlier Pueblo pictographs by its greater complexity and more dynamic quality.

James J. Hester (1962). Hester's doctoral dissertation, *Early Navajo Migrations and Acculturations in the Southwest,* includes chapters on early Navajo archaeology, history and culture, phase classification of Navajo archaeology, the origin of Navajo traits, pre-Southwestern Navajo culture, early Navajo migrations, and acculturation.[54]

Hester notes a relative absence of "extended survey and excavation" of Navajo sites, and reports that only three studies of a total 27 fall into this category. He lists events in Southwest and early Navajo history chronologically, providing a functional reconstruction of early Navajo culture based on historical documents.

Hester claims that a "pre-Southwestern Navajo period" is more hypothetical than real; due to a lack of archaeological data, he asserts, this cannot be considered a true "phase." He therefore places the beginning of Navajo history at 1500 A.D. in the Upper San Juan. This period, according to Hester, is followed by the Gobernador Phase (1694 to 1775 A.D.) and a final Eastern Navajo Phase which overlaps the Gobernador in certain areas. This terminal phase is termed the Cabezon and has an ending date of 1863.

Hester traces the majority of identifiable traits in pre-nineteenth century Navajo culture to Puebloan origins. He writes: [55]

> *. . . In terms of rate of acculturation, the results of this contact period (early Pueblos living with the Navajos) were amazing. In a space of a few years the Navajos adopted the Puebloan styles of architecture, manufacturing techniques, and religious paraphernalia, plus many elements of non-material culture such as clans, matrilineal descent, matrilocal residence, the origin myth, and ritual.*

Further, Hester continues, it is probable that initial Navajo settlements in the Dinétah region did not occur until the late 1500s, although not enough early Navajo sites have been dated to verify this. Hester's hypothesis is thus one of the first to place the Navajos in the Southwest at a much later date (post-1500) than previously suggested.

James J. Hester and Joel L. Shiner (1963). Hester and Shiner define three cultural phases in the Navajo Reservoir District: 1) Dinétah Phase (1550 to 1696); 2) Gobernador Phase (1696 to 1775); and 3) Refugee Pueblo Period (no dates given).[56] According to these researchers, most Navajo sites in the Reservoir represent a short time interval -- from just prior to 1700 until 1775 -- and fall into the Gobernador Phase. The latter, the authors claim, reflects a "period of assimilation of Puebloan culture traits."[57]

Ten "Navajo Period Sites," including one hogan village, one multiple unit hogan site, two single unit pueblitos and five rock shelters were excavated by Hester and Shiner. The investigators uncovered small oval, unstemmed projectile points which were unevenly chipped; they note, however, that because Navajos apparently preferred to reuse older tools, it is not possible to describe a typical projectile point of Navajo manufacture.

Objects of wood were found less frequently, and bone tools are rare in comparison to the number usually observed at Pueblo sites. An overwhelming majority of material objects found at the site relate to hunting, gathering, farming, the processing of food and production of clothing. Finally, Hester and Shiner state, all pictographs date from the Gobernador Phase.

Bryant Bannister (1965). Bannister currently heads the Tree-Ring Laboratory at the University of Arizona, Tucson. His 1965 work uses tree-ring specimens to date sites in Chaco Canyon.[58] While this work concerns primarily Pueblo dates, it also includes 11 reports of Navajo dated sites located on or near Chacra and Sisnathyel Mesas.[59] One site in this sample, CM-35, is particularly puzzling. Bannister remarks:[60]

> *The seven CM-35 dates present an unusally difficult problem of interpretation. First, the dates range from 1350 to later than 1598, a span of over 248 years. Second, none of the dates are cutting dates, and all of the specimens show considerable erosion. Third, taking the dates at face value, they appear to be much too late for the original Mesa Verde occupation at CM-35 and judging from other dated sites in the Chaco Canyon region, they seem to be too early for the Navajo-Refugee Pueblo complex.*

He offers two explanations for the CM-35 dates. The first is that the spread of dates is a function of differential erosion rather than differential periods of tree-felling. But, Bannister continues, "Even if the theory of differential erosion is accepted as an explanation for the wide range of dates, it is still difficult to imagine that the seven specimens were cut much after 1600."[61]

A second alternative is that the dated specimens represent reused timbers from an unidentified source, and thus provide no adequate indication of the construction date for the forked stick hogan other than sometime after 1600 A.D. Bannister qualifies his explanation by commenting:[62]

> *This hypothesis would depend upon either the existence of a Pre-Refugee Pueblo group in the area who presumably cut the logs and built a structure around 1600 (if the theory of differential erosion is accepted), or the presence of several groups who felled the trees intermittently throughout the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries (if the theory of differential erosion is not accepted).*

The following dates for other Navajo sites are offered by Bannister:

1773+vv, 1634vv, 1726vL, 1745+v, 1739G, 1739, 1739vL, 1739vvL, 1600+v, 1659+vv, 1730+vv, 1738LG, 1738vLG, 1704+vv, 1849cG, 1850cG, 1839, 1849, 1725, 1840c, 1830, 1850c, 1772G, 1778, 1889cG, 1889, 1880, 1889cG, 1884+G. [63] In summarizing these data, Bannister notes that the Navajo-Refugee Pueblo sites date from 1350-1745, while Navajo sites range from 1772-1889.

Roy L. Carlson (1965). Carlson's *Eighteenth Century Navajo Fortresses Of the Gobernador District* is based on archaeological data collected in 1915 by Earl H. Morris. [64] Carlson visited a total of 17 sites, and observed no evidence of occupancy until 1700 to 1750 A.D. when the unsuccessful Pueblo Revolt of 1696 brought an influx of Puebloans from the Rio Grande into the area. According to Carlson: [65]

> *Many culture traits probably flowed from these Pueblo refugees to the Navajo at this time, and indeed it seems likely that the refugees themselves were absorbed by the Navajo prior to the abandonment of the Gobernador District about 1750 for regions to the south and west.*

Carlson correlates the population shift from the San Juan River into the canyons of the Gobernador District with the Ute and Comanche advance of 1716-1720. He surmises that the construction of fortresses was primarily a defense against Utes and Comanches as opposed to Spaniards, since the period when these structures were used was a peaceful one between Navajo and Spanish.

There is an absence of kivas even in the large ruins, Carlson reports. He interprets this as supportive of a prevailing Navajo religious pattern during the Gobernador Phase. Summarizing early Navajo occupation of the Gobernador District, Carlson states: [66]

> *With the Pueblo Revolt of 1696 an era in Navajo history began. Loom weaving, painted pottery, masonry architecture, and a general infusion of Puebloan blood and culture came into the Navajo. In the decades of the Gobernador Phase and later these traits were repatterned and reinterpreted to fit the Navajo way.*

Frank W. Eddy (1966). Eddy's massive two-volume text [67] very briefly concerns Navajo Period sites recorded in the Navajo Reservoir District of northwestern New Mexico. Early in his investigation, both Dinétah and Gobernador Phase sites were recorded, but most excavation was limited to the latter. In fact, Eddy never uses the term "Dinétah Phase," a cultural period originally defined by subtracting traits known to be of Pueblo origin to arrive at a "core" of traits believed to have been brought by the Navajos when they entered the Southwest. Eddy recommends more careful study to elucidate the presence and distinguishing characteristics of such a phase: [68]

> *In this study, I have not used the term Dinétah Phase, and suggest that a thorough test of the concept be made preferably in the Gobernador District where there is a preponderance of archaeological and historical information on the Navajo. . . In addition to the objections voiced in the 1964 study of Schoenwetter and Eddy is the*

present realization of the low potsherd counts with the high probability of statistical skewing. If more ceramics had been collected from some of the sites labeled Dinétah Phase in the past, decorated types of Ceramics Group Ba might well have showed up. This is not to say that a pre-Refugee Period Navajo occupation did not take place in the northwestern portion of New Mexico, a fact well demonstrated by historical records . . . . but the sites to demonstrate the specific pre-A.D. 1700 Navajo occupation within the Reservoir District have not been convincingly isolated.

Sites classified as Gobernador Phase (1700 to 1775 A.D.) are, according to Eddy, clustered in scattered communities. In one case the density of certain Gobernador Phase sites exceeds that of any other cultural period. The highest concentration -- 8.6 sites per square mile -- occurs in narrow Pine River Canyon.

Eddy records Frances Polychrome as the first Navajo attempt at painted decorated ware. Other artifacts recovered in this study include hunting and milling tools. (A greater quantity was found of the former than the latter.) Only one probable Navajo burial was discovered, and Eddy notes that the lack of any other Navajo graves leaves doubt regarding the nature of burial customs during the seventeenth century.

The presence of storage facilities, trade items and an elaborate religious system -- traits that could only have developed through sufficient leisure time -- suggest to Eddy a surplus economy. He estimates the total Gobernador population at 840 individuals, of which 410 may have been alive at any one time.

M.A. Stokes and T.L. Smiley (1966; 1969). Stokes and Smiley collected tree-ring specimens throughout the Navajo Land Claims area, including a portion of Dinétah. In the northern sector, a total of 279 specimens were retrieved, of which 145 were dated. [69] (All but two of the samples were pinyon pine.) The earliest dates for these collections range from 1668+, 1679+, and 1684+ in the Upper San Juan area, to 1620+ and 1702+ in the Lower San Juan.

In the eastern sector a total of 724 specimens were obtained; 346 of these were dated. [70] The Rio Puerco area, which runs along the extreme eastern edge of the land claim, contained dated samples from 1696+G to between 1700 and 1750. The single sample collected from the Gallegos Canyon was dated at 1903+G. Three samples were dated prior to 1750 A.D. in Chaco Canyon. In Canyon Largo, 12 samples were dated from 1630 to 1699, and 123 received dates from 1700 to 1750. The earliest date -- 1544+ --was also found in this area.

The most interesting report in this investigation comes from the southern sector. [71] Here, three dates from the fourteenth century were obtained at Mariano Mesa, eight miles north of Quemado, New Mexico. Nine fifteenth century samples were collected from the same area. Unfortunately, no adequate work in the region has been undertaken to provide additional information on these provocative, early Navajo tree-ring dates.

David Stahle (1973). Stahle's paper concerns a masonry pueblito ruin (LA-2298), situated on the east side of Canyon Largo Wash at the mouth of Tapacita Creek. [72] The ruin, which contains seven rooms, was dated to between 1690 and 1694 A.D.

Stahle cites the re-analysis of all Southwest tree-ring dates by the University of Arizona's Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, and notes that many dates have been changed in this second analysis. The result is the elimination of all Navajo dates prior to 1700, except those for CM-35 (which has seven dates from 1350 to 1606). Stahle questions the CM-35 dates, claiming that LA-2298 records the earliest absolutely dated Navajo site in the Southwest. Nonetheless, he recommends that the determination of dates for the earliest Navajo sites

focus on the collection of tree-ring specimens.

John P. Wilson and A.H. Warren (1974). These researchers pose the question, "LA-2298: the Earliest Pueblito?" [73] The LA-2298 site is described as a well dated pueblito located in old Navajo country, about which little is known. Archaeological data indicate, however, that this site and others like it were built and occupied by Navajo Indians, Pueblo Indians living among the Navajos or both. The trade pottery found at LA-2298, according to Wilson and Warren, suggests communication with at least two Keres villages and with Acoma and Zuni, but probably not Jemez.

The best substantiated date for this site, the authors continue, is 1696 when it was occupied by Navajos and Pueblo refugees. With its tree-cutting dates of 1690 and 1695, the site probably saw refugees from a slightly earlier incident as well, "if indeed the site is not an indigenous Navajo development." [74] In conclusion, Wilson and Warren state: "Whatever its origin and whoever its inhabitants, LA-2298 is the earliest pueblito structure currently known." [75]

William Robinson, Bruce Harrill and Richard Warren (1974). These investigators report several tree-ring dates for sites in the Dinétah area: 1426++vv, 1506+vv, 1583++v, 1584++G, 1589++vv, 1595v, 1622++vv, 1635vv, 1659++vv, 1662++vv, 1667vv, 1684vv, 1692++vv, 1693v, and 1694v. [76] They state, however, that there are far more Navajo sites with dates in the 1700s.

These dates are associated with two cultural phases. Largo Canyon Group II sites reflect the period from the early sixteenth to the late eighteenth century; sites in the Gobernador Group encompass a time span from the early 1400s to the mid-1700s. [77]

Curtis Schaafsma (1975-1978). Schaafsma's several publications concern the Piedra Lumbre area of the Chama Valley in northern New Mexico. [78] The 38 sites located there, he claims, represent the earliest dated Navajo sites (with tree-ring dates of 1618vv, 1669vv, 1709vv, and 1760vv). Further, Schaafsma says, this identification is supported by and indeed expected given the evidence from early Spanish accounts of Navajos in the area: [79]

> *(A) reappraisal of the data on these early Navajo hunter/gatherer/horticulturalists leads one to agree with Carlson that there was no definite evidence of Navajo settlements in the Largo and Gobernador localities prior to 1696. In contrast, there is abundant historical evidence that the Navajos were resident in the Chama Valley near the reservoir prior to 1696.*

"If the Piedra Phase derives from the seventeenth-century Navajo occupation of the Chama Valley," Schaafsma continues, "there will be several major additions to our knowledge of early Navajo culture." [80] These include the following:

1) the sites would represent the oldest known archaeological complex for the Navajos;

2) the lack of pottery in the Piedra Lumbre Phase that was not clearly traded from nearby Pueblos indicates that Navajos did not make pottery before c. 1700;

3) projectile points associated with the Piedra Lumbre Phase may constitute the oldest known kind of any Navajo [illegible]nt, and may help to identify other early Navajo archaeological sites;

4) the presence of sheep a[illegible]t husbandry in the Piedra Lumbre Phase indicates

that Navajos adopted animal husbandry before 1710, if not considerably earlier;

5) house types of the Piedra Lumbre Phase may alter our concept of early Navajo habitations; and finally,

6) "rancherios" or village-like settlements indicate that pre-eighteenth century Navajo culture allowed for the formation of multi-family social groups.

E. Charles Adams (1976). Adams reports on seven Gobernador Phase Navajo sites in southwest Colorado. [81] No excavation was undertaken at these sites, but they were surveyed and "light scatters of polychrome or bichrome pottery" were found. [82] The most common pottery type was Gobernador Polychrome.

The sparseness of artifacts and other identifiable features at these sites leads Adams to suggest that they represent seasonal hunting and gathering camps rather than permanent habitations. He states that: 1) Gobernador Phase sites of the Piedra District (southwest Colorado) should post-date those to the south; and 2) no Dinétah Phase (earlier) sites are likely to be located in the Piedra Upper Navajo Reservoir District.

Charles Reher (1977). Reher's *Settlement and Subsistence Along the Lower Chaco River* was written as part of the proposed Coal Gasification Project and a survey to provide current environmental impact information on the proposed lease area. [83] This area lies immediately south of Waterflow, New Mexico, and is some distance from Chaco Canyon.

A total of 413 sites were identified in Reher's research. Most date to the 1800s and later. "Except for one defensive pueblito, probably dating between A.D. 1700 and 1750," Reher claims, "the Navajos expanded into the area after 1875 and then occupied it continuously until the present." [84] No tree-ring dates were obtained for any Navajo sites in the area.

Harry Hadlock (1979). Hadlock's published work centers on the Crow and Largo Canyons. [85] He describes the topography of these areas, with particular attention to their rock art, and presents an interesting and illuminating scenario of the first Navajo occupation in Dinétah. On the Navajos' arrival into this region, Hadlock says: [86]

> *Not until the 1500s was the Largo reoccupied, and then by a new group. Navajos entering the Southwest at the time found the beauty and solitude of this expanse of canyon land and mesas to their liking.*

It is important to recognize and appreciate the nearly 30 years of dedicated service the Hadlocks have contributed in their investigation and field research in the Dinétah area. While unpublished, the Hadlocks' eight volumes of photographs, maps and site reports provide a major source of information, primarily on the pictographs and petroglyphs of the region. [87]

Navajo Land Claims Investigations (1950-1980)

The millions of dollars expended by the Navajo Tribe on their claims case against the federal government warrant separate treatment as this relates to the Dinétah area. The tribe began its suit against the government in 1948; in 1952 the attorney for the Navajo Land Claims Case [88] hired Richard F. Van Valkenburgh to head up field work and archaeological research for the case. Van Valkenburgh died unexpectedly five years later. His former assistant, J. Lee

41 A

Beautiful drawing of the corn plant with an hourglass figure attached to the lower left leaf. Panel shows desecration from the initials of contemporary passers-by.

BEST COPY AVAILABL

Figure holding a large round mask with a spear as well as bow. This panel also shows the results of vandals shooting at the mask with high-power rifles.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Correll, was then hired to take Van Valkenburgh's place and remained employed by the tribe until his death in 1980. The work headed by these two men covered some 35,000,000 acres encompassing an area the size of New England. Using Navajo informants to locate old Navajo sites, research teams combed sections of land on and off the reservation. Their primary focus was the period of Anglo-American contact (1848-1868), which ended with the signing of the Navajo Treaty. While the major investigative thrust was on this 20-year period, the research recorded Navajo sites and structures dated before and after this period.

Archaeological field work undertaken between 1951 and 1963 located and recorded 2,300 sites. These ranged from a single unit or sherd area to a complex of 23 hogans and associated auxiliary structures. A total of 3,647 tree-ring specimens which contained timbers suitable for dating, were collected. To assist the Tree-Ring Laboratory at the University of Arizona in processing the Navajo specimens, some 1,000 cores of living trees were also obtained. Of these, 506 were cataloged at the Laboratory to establish regional chronologies. This enabled 40 per cent of the tree-ring samples to be dated. Altogether, dates were obtained for 406 of the 2,300 sites.

Each tree-ring specimen submitted to the Laboratory for analysis was labeled with a site designation based principally on: 1) primary and secondary drainage systems; 2) structure and position of the structure from which it was obtained; 3) date of collection and collector; and 4) where determinable, the method of felling (whether burned or broken off, cut with a stone or axe or at more recent sites, sawed). Organization of the tree-ring data is presented in Table 2.[89]

TABLE 2. Tree-Ring Data Analyzed for Navajo Land Claims Case

Navajo Land Claims Sector	Specimens Collected and Submitted to Lab	Number Processed by Lab	Not Processed by Lab	Number of Dates Obtained
North	297	237	60	145
East	770	724	42	346
South	839	797	42	229
West	1,741	1,283	458	482
TOTALS:	3,647	3,041		

It is of interest that the area containing the earliest tree-ring dates is not in the northern or eastern sectors, as might be expected. Instead, the earliest tree-ring dates are found in the southern sector, about nine miles north of Quemado, New Mexico. Three specimens from this area date to the late 1300s (1387inc., 1393inc., and 1394inc.). Two dates from the fourteenth century were also recorded at sites in Chaco Canyon, New Mexico (1350vv and 1398vv). Remarkably, no proper field work has ever been undertaken to test or determine the

implications of these early dates.

In the general vicinity of Quemado, a collection of 34 Navajo hogan sites dating between 1350 to 1699 was uncovered. Eight site types were discerned: 1) forked-pole hogan sites; 2) large sites with cribbed log hogans; 3) small sites with cribbed log hogans; 4) stone foundation sites; 5) windbreak and shelter sites; 6) isolated sweathouse; 7) antelope corrals; and 8) miscellaneous. The bulk of these sites yielded tree-ring dates prior to 1700. A forked-pole hogan site (S-ULC-C2-B) yielded the earliest tree-ring dates of 1387, 1393 and 1394 A.D.

J. Lee Correll standing by the south side entrance to windbreak #1, located at Cebolleta Mesa, New Mexico (1957; Navajo Land Claims photograph).

Some scholars have been reluctant to accept these dates. David Brugge, however, makes this suggestion: [90]

> *The structures themselves are obviously not that old, since they have produced many other tree-ring dates which are later in time, but the possibility that they were built in part with wood salvaged from earlier structures at the site or nearby cannot be immediately discounted. . . .*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Two hogans with George Garcia and Mariano Herrera in picture; located at Wild Horse Spring, New Mexico (1953; Navajo Land Claims photograph).

Brugge also notes that archaeological research to date has failed to identify other early Navajo sites for which there is doumentation in Spanish accounts: [91]

> *Indeed, even for the first century of settlement in New Mexico, ... the Apachean occupation is amply documented for lands all around the diminished Pueblo domain . . . (but) no sound archaeological evidence of this occupation has ever been reported.*

J. Lee Correll believed the Quemado sites were all Navajo, and he listed them as such in the first of his six-volume treatise, *Through White Man's Eyes: A Contribution to Navajo History*. [92] Brugge, on the other hand, was not convinced and recommended more excavations to determine clearly whether all or part were Navajo sites or those of some other Athapaskan group.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

It is important to remember that the Navajo Land Claims investigation was concerned with a very limited time span. Investigators did not need to show evidence of early Navajo entry into the Southwest; the merits of the Navajos' case against the federal government rested solely on evidence collected from sites occupied between 1848 and 1868. Nevertheless, the Land Claims research findings do have significant implications for early Navajo history.

Correll records five fourteenth century dates based on tree-ring analysis of sites investigated during the Land Claims case: [93]

1) *1350vv* - Chacra Mesa, northwestern New Mexico;
2) *1387inc* - Mariano Mesa, eight miles north of Quemado, New Mexico;
3) *1393inc* - Mariano Mesa:
4) *1394+* - Mariano Mesa;
5) *1398vv* - Chacra Mesa.

He identifies fifteenth century tree-ring dates from Navajo archaeological structures as follows:

1) *1421+* - Mariano Mesa;
2) *1424+inc* - Mariano Mesa:
3) *1432vv* - Chacra Mesa
4) *1447+* - Mariano Mesa;
5) *1448+* - Mariano Mesa;
6) *1451+* - Mariano Mesa;
7) *1462+inc* - Mariano Mesa;
8) *1464+inc* - Mariano Mesa;
9) *1469vv* - Chacra Mesa;
10) *1474inc* - Mariano Mesa;
11) *1478+inc* - Mariano Mesa;
12) *1484+* - Mariano Mesa;
13) *1491+X* - Gobernador Canyon.

Twenty-two sixteenth century tree-ring dates from Navajo archaeological features are recorded in Correll's document:

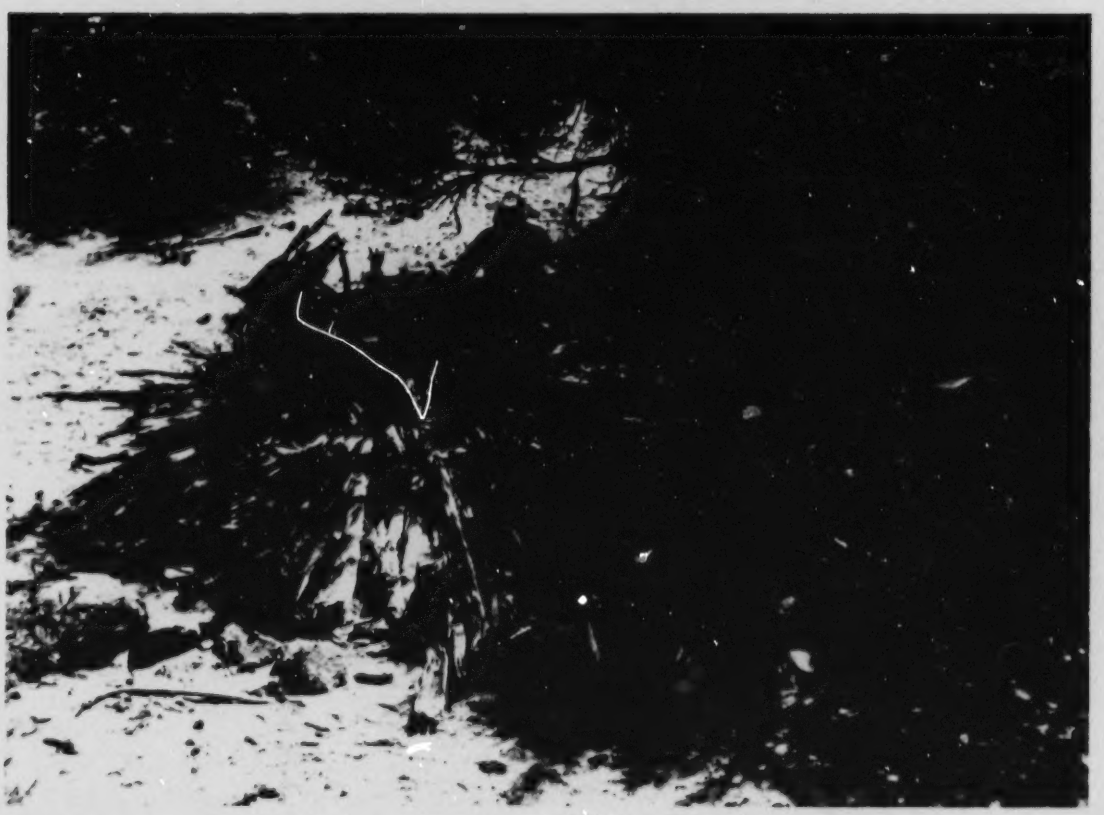
1) *1504+* - Mariano Mesa;
2) *1510inc* - Mariano Mesa;
3) *1510inc* - Mariano Mesa;
4) *1521+* - Mariano Mesa;
5) *1535+* - Mariano Mesa;
6) *1535+* - Mariano Mesa;
7) *1541+inc* - Escondido Mesa, south of Quemado, New Mexico;
8) *1541+ /20* - Gobernador Canyon;
9) *1542+inc* - Mariano Mesa;
10 *1543+* - Vicinity of Atarque, New Mexico;
11) *1544+* - Vicinity of Counselor, New Mexico;
12) *1552vv* - Chacra Mesa;
13) *1553+inc* - Mariano Mesa;

14) *1558inc* - Mariano Mesa;
15) *1569+inc* - Escondido Mesa;
16) *1572++v* - Chacra Mesa;
17) *1578+inc* - Mariano Mesa;
18) *1581+inc* - Mariano Mesa;
19) *1587+inc* - Mariano Mesa;
20) *1588+* - Mariano Mesa;
21) *1590+inc* - Escondido Mesa;
22) *1595++vv* - Chacra Mesa.

Other seventeenth century dates listed by Correll include:

1) *1601+inc* - Mariano Mesa;
2) *1620+* - White Canyon, Lower San Juan River, Utah;
3) *1622+inc* - Allegro Mountain, South of Pietown, New Mexico;
4) *1622+incG* - Upper Orabi Wash, Arizona;
5) *1628inc cG* - Alamo Creek, Puertocito, New Mexico;
6) *1630+* - Canyon Largo; New Mexico;
7) *1634+* - Mariano Mesa;
8) *1634vv* - Chacra Mesa;
9) *1641+inc* - Mariano Mesa;
10) *1647+* - Mariano Mesa;
11) *1653+incG* - Mariano Mesa;
12) *1655inc* - Mariano Mesa;
13) *1656+ /20* - Gobernador Canyon;
14) *1664+* - Mariano Mesa;
15) *1666inc* - *Tse Chizzi,* near Steamboat, Arizona;
16) *1667inc* - Canyon Largo;
17) *1668+* - Gobernado Canyon;
18) *1672+* - Upper Oraibi Wash;
19) *1673+X* - Big Bead Mesa, northeast of Mt. Taylor, New Mexico;
20) *1673+inc* - Vicinity of Ataruqe, New Mexico;
21) *1674inc* - Canyon Largo;
22) *1675inc* - Mariano Mesa;
23) *1675c* - Canyon Largo;
24) *1679+* - Gobernador Canyon;
25) *1682inc* - Canyon Largo;
26) *1683inc* - Canyon Largo;
27) *1683+* - Gobernador Canyon;
28) *1687+inc* - Mariano Mesa;
29) *1689+X* - Big Bead Mesa;
30) *1689inc* - Canyon Largo;
31) *1690inc* - Canyon Largo;
32) *1691+inc* - Allegro Mountain;
33) *1691inc* - Canyon Largo;
34) *1692inc* - Canyon Largo;
35) *1696+G* - Mesa Gigante; vicinity of Cañoncito, New Mexico;

36) *1696+* - Canyon Largo;
37) *1699+inc* - Mariano Mesa;
38) *1699incG* - Canyon Largo.



Hogan remains #1. R.F. Van Valkenburgh is on the south side of the vestibule; Jim Dick and George Jim sit at the southwest side of the hogan. Gobernador-La Jara Canyon, New Mexico (1954; Navajo Land Claims photograph).

The entire area claimed by the Navajo Tribe encompasses a total of 1,409 sites including 4,726 separate structures. Of these, 2,601 are hogans; the most frequently used dwellings are forked-pole (711) and cribbed log (638) types. Only 35 burials are reported in the Navajo area, and half (21) of these are located in the western portion of the reservation.

One investigation conducted for the land claims case uncovered methods used to cut logs prior to the Navajos' internment at Fort Sumner. A total of 236 wood samples were determined to have been cut by burning, while 66 had been cut with a stone axe. [94]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Another study concerns the distance between ash dumps and hogan sites, and the size of the hogan's diameter.[95] Prior to the Fort Sumner exile, ash dumps were situated closer to the hogan (15 feet away or less), and hogan diameters were small (10 feet or less). This typology became part of the basis for ranking undated Navajo sites. Eighty-four per cent of hogans dated before the Fort Sumner exile are 10 feet or smaller in diameter; for sites dated after Fort Sumner, this figure drops to 16 per cent. Interestingly, most antelope corrals appear in sites dated prior to the Fort Sumner period (97 per cent), while only three (three per cent) have been dated after this time.[96]

A final major component of the land claims research concerns site inventories. These catalog a number of Navajo culture traits including hogan types (forked stick, cribbed log, stone, rock shelter and other architectural varieties). Stock corrals, lamb pens, sweathouses, game corrals, windbreaks, shelters, pueblitos, fortifications, burials, dam-pothole structures, dance corrals, eagle crag traps, field-ditch, glyphs, granary-storage/loom-weaving shelters, mescal pits, ovens, rock-game, rock shelters, sherd areas, shrines, smithies, stone house/cabins, tent sites, trails and unidentified structures were also recorded and classified.[97]

Hogan #1, located in the Carrizo Wash area north of Quemado, New Mexico. David Brugge pictured (1960; Navajo Land Claims photograph).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Rock-walled hogan remains located in the Middle Puerco, New Mexico, with J. Lee Correll in photo (1958; Navajo Land Claims photograph).

Remains of hogan #3 located in Gobernador-La Jara Canyon area, New Mexico. J. Lee Correll is in center back of photo (1954; Navajo Land Claims photograph).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Shelter #5, in Soda Springs, Colorado. R.F. Van Valkenburgh is pictured to the right with George Jim on the left (1954; Navajo Land Claims photograph).

Summary and Evaluation of the Archaeological Record

An examination of the literature reveals several points of note. It is clear that earlier investigators, in general, posit a much earlier date for Navajo arrival in the Southwest (c.1500 or earlier) than researchers who conducted their work during or after the mid-1960s. The published results of these archaeological investigations highlight a second point: Navajo archaeology is still very "young" as a discipline and field of endeavor. There has been little sustained effort that has not been motivated by salvage or land claims concerns. Further, no professional archaeologists have given their full time and attention to field archaeology in the Navajo region.

The first systematic archaeology in the area began in the late 1930s. The earliest investigators do not indicate site dates or suggest hypotheses for the origin of the Navajos in the Southwest. Hall, in 1944, was the first to publish an hypothesis on Navajo entry into the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Southwest, placing this date at approximately 1400 to 1500 A.D or earlier. He reports one site in Gobernador Canyon dated at 1541+20 to 1491+x. Farmer (1942; 1947) surmises that the Upper Largo area was little used until 1400 A.D. Implicit in his hypothesis is the assumption that the Navajos came into the area about that time. Riley (1954) suggests the Navajos entered the Southwest before 1500 A.D. and "possibly several hundred years earlier."

It was not until Hester wrote (in 1962 and 1963) that later dates became popular for Navajo arrival in the Southwest. Hester postulates a Dinétah Phase (1500 to 1700), but does not find sufficient evidence of its existence to prove this period in Navajo history to others. He therefore places the date of Navajo arrival in the Southwest during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although this was only a "guess" on Hester's part (based on limited site samples), his work set a precedent for future studies.

Thus, many researchers claim that tree-ring dates for Navajo sites all concentrate in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet many puzzling exceptions exist. CM-35 produced dates as early as 1350 A.D.; Hall records a mid-sixteenth to late fifteenth century date; 13 fifteenth century dates and five dates extending into the fourteenth century were found by the Navajo Land Claims investigation. It is of interest that not a single archaeologist who is not associated with the Navajo Land Claims case has chosen to use these early dates. Instead, the dates are for the most part ignored. The difference between these tree-ring dates, however, is outstanding. Hester suggests a Navajo arrival date in the Southwest that follows the arrival of the Spanish (after 1540). This time of entry and that suggested by the Land Claims case material and Bannister's CM-35 site diverge by some 200 years.

There can be little doubt that this discrepancy will continue as a major controversy in the Navajo archaeological and historical record. The controversy, however, seems to rest on a highly questionable premise. Data supporting an early arrival date are based on one of the most accurate dating methods known to date: dendrochronology. Ironically this is the same methodology used to date many *later* sites as well. The fallacy underlying the rejection of earlier Navajo sites lies in the assumption that, because there are more abundant data for later sites, these sites represent the original and first ones occupied by the Navajos on their arrival into the region.

A more reasonable and parsimonious explanation exists. Assuming the tree-ring dates for early sites are just as accurate as those for later ones, it appears likely that there would, in fact, be fewer early (i.e., fourteenth and fifteenth century) sites than later ones, since the later dates reflect a time period during which the Navajos were expanding their population and territory. This is *precisely* what is reflected in the data.

The anthropologist J.O. Brew recognizes this when he writes of the current controversy surrounding the time of Navajo arrival in the Southwest:

> *Some years ago the southeastern United States suffered from an archaeological stampede to date the advanced sites later and later until it began to seem that the Temple Mounds must have been built by Mexican Indians who came up with De Sota. Similarly, the arrival of the Athabascans in the Southwest has been getting later and later until one sometimes finds oneself wondering whether they have really arrived yet.*

Ultimately, proof of fourteenth century (or earlier) Navajo occupation in the Southwest will rest on further research. The dating discrepancy represents a unique and tantalizing puzzle, yet few scholars have taken it up or attempted to solve it. Indeed, the published record

indicates that there has been an overall decline in the intensity of archaeological research conducted in the Dinétah area in recent years. Few comprehensive efforts have been made -- except those cases motivated by salvage or land claims needs -- to clarify Navajo archaeology. The earliest and largest number of tree-ring specimens derive from the Quemado area, but there has been no intensive excavation of this region to pursue Correll's investigation there. A second collection of Navajo tree-ring samples derives from the Gobernador, Chaco, and Chacra Canyon areas; no excavation has been undertaken to follow these leads. Why?

One reason may be the lack of perishable goods that characterizes the Navajo-Athapaskans, making location of their sites more difficult than trying to find those of more sedentary peoples such as the Anasazi. Another reason involves an historical lack of tribal financial commitment to such long-term projects. Budgetary restrictions encourage salvage archaeology -- short-term projects aimed at getting clearance to build roads, dams, schools, *etc.* -- at the expense of more longitudinal and meaningful research.

It is this writer's opinion that the evidence from Quemado and other, early archaeological sites in the area supports an arrival date of 1100 to 1300 A.D. for Navajos in the Southwest. If the Navajo people are to learn more about their history and culture from archaeologists, the past biases and neglect of these early tree-ring dates must be abandoned. It is unfortunate that the millions of tribal dollars allocated for the Navajo Land Claims case have not resulted in publication of most of the findings. It is also tragic that the two leaders of that research effort, Van Valkenburgh and Correll, have died and were unable to continue the search for the earliest dated Navajo site in the Southwest, as each wanted to do!

Archaeology is not the only, or necessarily best way to determine Navajo origins and dates for their arrival in the Southwest. It is, nonetheless, one important means of making these determinations, and bears greater consideration and support by the Navajo Tribe.

Close-up of a Spanish figure holding a sword, on a large horse (Crow Canyon).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHAPTER THREE

The Spanish Period: 1540-1821

(Section I by George Hammond[1])

"THE EARLY HISTORY OF the Navajos is shrouded in obscurity. When the Spaniards made the first great exploration of the Southwest under the leadership of Francisco Vasquez Coronado in 1540-42, the chroniclers of the expedition left no definite record of nomadic tribes, particularly those west of the Rio Grande. Instead, the Spanish interest was in settled Indian societies displaying great wealth, such as those in Mexico. At first Coronado thought he had found this in Zuni, then called Cibola, but as the dream quickly dispelled he led his expedition to the Rio Grande Valley and lived among the Pueblo Indians of that region for two years. When he heard of gold-rich Quivera to the east he made a great trip to what is now Kansas. There he found nothing of value -- only great numbers of buffalo-hunting Indians.

Coronado also sent explorers to the west, one of whom, Lopez de Cardenas, discovered the kingdom of Tusayan (modern Hopi land). Finding the people there very poor, de Cardenas traveled farther west in search of riches and later discovered the Grand Canyon of the Colorado. The meager accounts of the expedition give no record of the nomadic or wild tribes of this western region. Indeed, the major surviving account of the Coronado expedition was written by an old soldier, Pedro de Castañeda, some twenty years after the explorers' return to Mexico. Neither Navajos nor Apaches are mentioned by name. Only the Querechos to the east of the Rio Grande received some detailed description.

After Coronado's expedition the Spaniards forgot about New Mexico. The great silver mines of Zacatecas, discovered in 1545, led to an extraordinary rush of miners, soldiers, and settlers to this area. By 1580 the mines and settlements had pushed northward into Chihuahua, where rumors of the settled Indians of New Mexico and their big houses were again heard. Reports had it that they were rich, a veritable 'other Mexico,' and two small but important expeditions led by Rodriquez-Chamuscado and Espejo-Beltran rediscovered and re-explored New Mexico between 1581 and 1588. Both explored the Pueblo area of the Rio Grande Valley, the Pecos Valley, and west to Zuni. Expejo, hearing of silver mines farther west, went in search of them, visited the Hopi pueblos, and then struck west to look for the mines. He reported that ten leagues (about thirty miles) west of the pueblo of Awatobi (one of the Hopi pueblos), his party came to the Little Colorado which was 'settled by warlike mountainous people.' This was in the vicinity of modern Winslow. These may have been 'Apaches-de-Navajo,' but there is no further explanation of them. Farther on, probably in the Flagstaff

region, the explorers 'found a rancheria belonging to mountainous people' who fled before them, but they waited and parleyed. Since these people had crosses, they have generally been thought to be Yavapai.

While returning from Zuni toward the Rio Grande, Espejo and his men had a scrape with the Acomas and certain 'Querechos' at modern Acomita, near Mount Taylor. This occurred when some of Espejo's servants fled and one was killed. Peace negotiations with the Querechos followed, in which it was agreed that the latter would release a Querecho woman who had been given to the Spaniards at Moqui (but who had fled), in exchange for a Querecho girl that the Spaniards had seized. When the exchange was to be made, the Querechos tried to trick the Spaniards out of both women. Shots were exchanged and a Spanish soldier wounded. The Querecho woman escaped in the melee.

This incident may be insignificant in itself, but it is important in that it is the first recorded contact between Spaniards and Querechos, who were probably ancestors to the modern Navajos. It should also be noted that Espejo got one of the Querechos' women while among the Hopis, indicating that the Hopis were also in contact with the Navajos, and then met larger numbers of them near Laguna on his return to the Rio Grande. Apparently these Querechos already occupied the modern Navajo country at the end of the sixteenth century.

Even though Espejo did not mention meeting any Indians before reaching Hopi, it is interesting to observe the comment of Luxan, the chronicler of the Espejo expedition, who wrote:

> *The Lord willed this that the whole land should tremble for ten lone Spaniards, for there were over twelve thousand Indians in the Hopi province with bows and arrows, and many Chichimecos whom they call 'Corechos'* (that is, Querechos).

At this time the Indians were terrified of the Spaniards -- their horses, their firearms -- all of which must have seemed to them as wonders from another world. It is quite possible that these were Navajos who were keeping out of the way and concealed, not a difficult thing to do, as the Spaniards stuck to the beaten trails.

The Espejo expedition returned to Mexico in 1583, reported on the wonderful country they had visited, and sought royal permission to go back and conquer the land. The king did order that it be conquered and colonized, but it was Don Juan de Oñate, descendant of a wealthy and prominent Zacatecas family, who became leader of the expedition and first governor and founder of the new colony.

The Oñate expedition, which got under way in 1598, established headquarters in northern New Mexico, first at San Juan and then at San Gabriel where the Chama River empties into the Rio Grande. Very soon the Spaniards settled down to the pattern of life they had developed for such frontier regions. The governor, with a few soldier-settlers, lived at the capital, and the friars were assigned to the various pueblos to learn the languages of the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. At the same time, the governor and his captains explored in every direction where rumor or hope suggested discovery of the riches that would satisfy their dreams and ambitions.

All of the Pueblo Indians accepted the new conquerors and swore allegiance to their God and King. Only at Acoma, in 1598, did they break this oath, which led to destruction of the pueblo and death or servitude for its people.

Oñate's search for wealth led him in 1601 on a great expedition to Quivira (in the present State of Kansas), which proved as vain as Coronado's early journey there. Then, in 1604-05, Oñate headed a great exploration that took him to the Gulf of California. He went by way of Zuni and the Hopi pueblos, but the records of the expedition, aside from a cursory reference to the Cruzados (generally identified with the Yavapais near the San Francisco Peaks), make no reference to the nomadic tribes in the region between the Rio Grande and the Rio Colorado.

While Oñate and his captains were so completely absorbed in the discovery of riches, they gave little or no attention to the 'wild' tribes, or at least did not write to the Crown about them. This is clear from a decree of Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco of Mexico issued on March 6, 1608, while the king and his council debated what to do with New Mexico. There was much discussion of abandoning the province at this time. The viceroy wrote that since 'the Spaniards and the Christian and peaceful natives in New Mexico are frequently harassed by attack of the Apache Indians, who destroy and burn their pueblos, waylay and kill their people by treachery, steal their horses and cause other damages,' he ordered the governor to send out adequate patrols to stop such outrages and to defend the friendly natives. Clearly, if the hostile Indians caused such damages to the Christian and friendly Indians who had the support of Spanish arms, the situation was very serious. It is of course not possible to say categorically that the hostile Apaches were Navajos, but it is likely that they were.

This idea is supported by the fact that a major reason for abandoning the capital at San Gabriel (modern Chamita, Mexico), where it had been since 1599, and moving it to Santa Fe in 1610, was San Gabriel's exposure to the Navajo attacks. One of the Spanish chroniclers wrote:

> *San Gabriel fue algunos años la capital de la Provincia; después, acaso por la estrechez del sitio, y or ser entonces frontera abierta de los Apache Nabajoes, se despoblo, y traslado a donde hoy permanece con el nombre de Santa Fe.*

That is, San Gabriel was for a time the capital, but it was abandoned because of its narrow and confined location and because 'it was then the exposed frontier of the Navajo Apaches, wherefore it was abandoned and moved to Santa Fe.'

The Chama River has always been a major route of travel between the Upper Rio Grande and the lands to the west. From the San Juan River, traders and warriors found it a natural route to the Rio Grande where most of the Indian pueblos were located, and it was so used from time immemorial. Later, when Spanish and American soldiers made expeditions against the Indians of northwestern New Mexico, or journeyed to explore Utah or western Colorado, this was a favorite route. Navajo use of this avenue in the time of Oñate is, however, the first recorded instance of such travel, but it locates the Navajos in the Chama River region in 1600.

In 1609, when Don Pedro de Peralta was sent as governor to New Mexico, he was enjoined by the viceroy of Mexico to be on guard against the hostile natives, since some of the missions were on the frontier of the Apaches and it was among them that the hostile bands formed their conspiracies. These Apaches were probably Navajos.

Peralta's immediate task as governor was two-fold: to found the new capital at Santa Fe and reorganize the defenses of the province. The eminent authority on the New Mexico missions, Dr. Frances V. Scholes, writes on the subject of defense:

Oñate had reduced the Pueblos to submission by the drastic punishment of Acoma in 1599 and by firmness in dealing with Jumanos on the eastern frontier, but numerous complaints had been received concerning his failure to deal in an appropriate manner with the Apaches and Navahos. Consequently Peralta's instructions contained detailed suggestions concerning relations with the Apaches and the proper measures for defending the pueblos from attack by these marauders.

The governor was instructed to make no expeditions to the frontier until the settled area had been established on a sound basis; the Pueblo Indians were to be concentrated into fewer, larger villages, and future expeditions among the unconverted Indians were to be made only by the friars.

The decade after 1610 was for New Mexico a period of reaction to the hopeful days of Oñate's conquest. Only a few soldiers and missionaries remained after 1610 to hold the province, but by 1617 reinforcements began to flow to the northern outpost in greater numbers. There followed a period of great activity in mission building. Churches were constructed at Pecos and Jemez, among others. The ruins of the Jemez church are still to be seen near modern Jemez Hot Springs.

These Jemez Indians, who occupied a number of pueblos in the Jemez River Valley, were directly exposed to the Navajo frontier and thus became a sort of buffer between the hostile, nomadic Indians and those of the Pueblo area. Fray Geronimo de Zarate Salmerón, who went to Jemez as a missionary in 1622, established the mission of San Jose at the pueblo of Giusewa, near the famous hot springs, but there was soon trouble — both internal and external. In 1623, there was a serious uprising in the pueblo, and this was followed by Navajo raids in the succeeding three years. Says Scholes of Jemez in this decade: 'famine and Navaho raids reduced them to a miserable state.'

It is fortunate that New Mexico had a great chronicler in the seventeenth century, Fray Alonso de Benavides, a man of dynamic energy and vision. In 1625 he reached New Mexico, empowered to be the custodian or leader of the missionaries and also the representative of the powerful Inquisition. Imbued with zeal for converting the natives, whether Pueblo, Navajo, or Apache, he went to work with tremendous enthusiasm and energy. When he returned to Mexico in 1630, it was to plead for greater support for the New Mexico missions; as part of his campaign he wrote a famous Memorial which was published in Spain in 1630. In this Memorial he described conditions in the province in minute detail, explaining the location of the land, the origin and customs of the Indians, the condition of each of the pueblos or tribes, the work done by the friars, and the acceptance of the Christian faith by the Indians.

After describing Acoma, Zuni, and Moqui (Hopi), Benavides turned to the nomadic tribes of the west, the Apaches, 'who alone are more numerous that all the others together, and even more numerous than the people of New Spain.' Beginning with the southern territory, Benavides then dealt with individual groups. There were the Apaches del Perrillo, in the Jornada del Muerto area of southern New Mexico, east of the Rio Grande; the Gila Apaches, who extended 'for more than fifty leagues along the frontier of the pueblos of New Mexico toward the west,' and who lived about 14 leagues west of Senecu (i.e., west of Socorro, which would put them near the headwaters of the Gila River). Following this was a description of the 'magnificient province and tribe of the Navajo Apaches,' who lived 'on the frontier of the settlement of New Mexico,' and whose number was so great 'that in less than eight days, on one occasion, they assembled more than thirty thousand to go to war, for they are a very bellicose people.'

In the past it has been assumed that this was the first recorded account by the Spaniards of contact with the Navajos. The work of Scholes however, which is largely based on Inquisition records in the New Mexico National Archives of Mexico, and the Oñate records from the Spanish Archives of the Indies indicate that there were earlier contacts. The Spaniards suffered from Navajo-Apache hostility as early as the Oñate expedition when they established their first outposts in northern New Mexico.

Benavides goes on to say:

> *Now in the month of September of last year, 1629, our Lord saw fit that I should pacify them. With this in view, I founded a friary and church in the pueblo of Santa Clara, of the Teoas nation . . . Living along the border, they suffered a great deal from these Apaches. I was very anxious to make peace between them, because it would result in the Navajos' conversion. . .*

He adds a story of meeting some of the Navajos and converting them, concluding:

> *During the month of September of last year, 1969, I was taking care of the above-mentioned Friary of Santa Clara in the pueblo of Capoo, which was the tenth and last pueblo I founded for the honor and glory of God in those missions. It was most frequently the victim of attacks from the Navajo Apaches.*

Describing the customs and characteristics of these people Benavides wrote that the Gila Apaches had no cultivated fields, but lived by hunting. The Navajos, on the other hand were 'very skillful farmers, for the word navaho means "large cultivated fields." '

In his Memorial of 1634, Benavides emphasized, 'It must be noted that we are speaking of the people of that nation (Navajo) which is on the frontier of the settlements of New Mexico, and although the population around here is innumerable, it becomes greater as we go toward the center of their land. . .' He then outlined the limits of Navajo territory: the Navajos bordered the Pueblo area — that is, the Jemez and Rio Grande Valleys — where the Spanish friars were laboring among the Pueblo Indians. Benavides recognized however, that the Navajos increased 'toward the center of their land.'

Following the departure of Benavides from New Mexico, the record again becomes extremely sketchy for the next 50 years. The absence of records during this period is due to the Indian uprising of 1680 in which the Spaniards were driven from New Mexico, losing 21 friars and more than 400 settlers, and to the fact that there was no Benavides in the province to champion its interests and relate its history.

Our knowledge of what happened prior to 1700 is based in large measure on the services of one soldier-captain, Juan Dominguez de Mendoza. This soldier came to New Mexico in 1642 and remained until the Pueblo Revolt. He was a tough fighter, capable and efficient, and it was he who on many occasions was entrusted with the task of punishing the Navajos. No diary of any of these expeditions has been preserved, but in his statement of services to the king there are references to the campaigns he made against these Indians.

Normally the authors of Spanish accounts, whether a scribe at the capital at Santa Fe or one of the friars, spoke of the Navajos simply as Apaches, the term by which they had been known from the earliest times and which to the authors was sufficient to identify the common enemy. At that time there could be no confusion in Santa Fe in identifying as Navajos any 'Apaches' who raided along the Rio Grande settlements, nearly all of which lay north of Tomé

or Isleta. The Apaches proper, or those that we today call Apaches, were far south and west of the Navajo country, and while the Apaches doubtless made occasional raids to the southern Rio Grande area, they were more prone to raid southward into the old Spanish settlements and ranches of the Fronteras-Janos region in northern Sonora. As for the Jicarillas, who now reside on a reservation west of the Rio Grande in northern New Mexico, they were, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, far to the northeast among the Plains Indians. It was not until pressure of other and more powerful Plains Indian tribes drove them westward in the nineteenth century, that some of them became domiciled in the Chama-Gallina region just before the American invasion. In short, it may be assumed that when the Spaniards in the seventeenth century spoke of Apache raids on the Jemez or nearby pueblos, they referred to the modern Navajos.

Though our records for the seventeenth century after the time of Benavides are meager, it is clear that the Navajos were a scourge to the Spanish settlers and the Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande Valley. Very early in the relations of these semi-nomadic tribes with the Rio Grande people it became the custom (as it might have been before the Spaniards came) to raid their enemies, not only for provisions but for captives. Indeed, each group raided the other for this purpose, as the scanty Spanish records of the period clearly show. The friars, laboring to convert and civilize the Indians, opposed this practice vigorously but the business was maintained by the governors or had their tacit support since they often kept such captives as servants or sold them as a means of personal profit. This became a major source of conflict between the governor and the head of the friars, as Scholes demonstrates in his two fine monographs, *Church and State of New Mexico, 1610-1650,* published in 1957; and a companion study, *Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670* published in 1942. Scholes summarizes the issue:

> *Expeditions were constantly being organized for the purpose seizing Apache captives to be sold as slaves in New Spain, with the result that the Apaches naturally made counter-attacks on the pueblos — as happened during the times of the past governor, when they killed forty persons in one pueblo and seized eight prisioners. That these Apaches were often Navajos there is no question.*

From the few extant seventeenth century records we have a reference in 1639 to the urgency of keeping up the war against the unconverted Apaches and Navajos. In another report dated 1641, the governor of New Mexico, Don Juan Flores y Valdés, reported that as soon as he reached the province in that year he undertook a campaign against the hostile Indians since the kingdom suffered cruelly from them and that he subjugated the Taos and Apache Indians, broke their strength, and left the province peaceful and secure. These Apaches were very likely Navajos for they lived in close proximity to Taos and were in the habit of raiding in that area.

In 1643, Governor Alonso Pacheco thanked the custodian of the friars, Fray Hernando Cobarrubias, for the aid in the many good horses that the missions had lent for a campaign against the Navajo Apaches, a campaign that had resulted in punishing them effectively and was thus of great service to both God and the King. A half dozen years later in 1653, we find that the governor, Hernando de Ugarte y la Concha, certified that Juan Domínguez de Mendoza had taken part in two wars against the common enemy, the Apache nation; one in the planting season and the other in the rigor of winter, and that the enemy had sued for peace.

In 1659-1660 a new period of trouble arose. At that time, Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal engaged in numerous irregular commericial ventures utilizing captive Indians. Scholes notes that in general, 'the Apache-Navaho problems became more acute during the years, 1659-1661,' partly as a result of Indian raids on frontier pueblos and the evitable counterattacks on the Apache-Navajo strongholds. 'There is also evidence,' says Scholes, 'that when the Apaches and Navahos came to the pueblos to trade, or to seek food during periods of drought and famine, unlawful seizures were made.' For example, when a group of Apaches came to Jemez to trade peacefully, they were attacked without provocation, several killed, and thirty women and children taken captive. In all probability, these Indians called Apaches in the records, were Navajo Apaches.

When Gobernador López de Mendizábal reached New Mexico in 1659 he reported that it was necessary to punish the hostile Indians of the Apache nation and that he had sent Captain Juan Dominguez at the head of 800 Christian Indians and 40 mounted Spanish soldiers to lay waste their fields and destroy their power, a commission he carried out with great success. The expedition took place between September and November, 1659.

Seven years later, in the spring of 1666, we have reference to a punitive expedition against Apaches in the Acoma area by this same captain, Juan Domínguez de Mendoza. Unfortunately most of the record deals with a dispute between the friars and the captain, but the Apaches in the Acoma area were certainly the redoubtable Navajo.

Further evidence of the identity of the seventeenth century Apache as the modern Navajo comes in a letter of Governor Juan de Medrano Messia to Fray de Talabán, the custodian of the friars in New Mexico, on June 16, 1669. The governor had just been informed that the Apaches made a bold attack on the pueblo of Acoma, killing 12 persons including Captain Don Francisco de Chaves, taking several captives, and seizing 800 sheep and goats as well as horses and cattle. The danger was the greater, said the governor, because the Apaches and the Salineros (of the Zuni region) had joined those of the Casa Fuerte (the Navajo). To counteract these bold attacks, the governor ordered 50 soldiers and 600 Christian Indians to assemble at Jemez on July 2 for the campaign against the hostiles.

In a certified statement of July 27, 1671, Governor Don Juan de Miranda, praising Captain Juan Domínguez's services, wrote that 'during the government of General Don Luis de Guzmán y Figueroz (1648), he continued in the royal service in the campaigns of the Rio Grande, Navajo, and Casa Fuerte. . . ' The Rio Grande referred to here is the modern San Juan River, and the Sierra de Navajo the mesas and cordilleras of the Mt. Taylor-Cebolleta Mountains region. The Sierra de Casa Fuerte, though not specifically identified in the Spanish documents, refers to the fortified crags of the Navajos in the Upper Largo-Gobernador-Gallina area. Very interesting is the fact that these places where 'the Apaches' had been found are now clearly and definitely recognized as being in acknowledged Navajo territory.

Governor Miranda's statement further clarifies this identification by saying that during the time when General Hernando de Ugarte y la Concha was governor (1649-54), Captain Juan Domínguez 'was present at the punishment of the Indians of the jurisdictions of Casa Fuerte, Navajo, and Matansas, where heavy punishments were inflicted until the treason and confederation of the Christian Indians and the Apaches were discovered. . .' Somewhat later, during the term of Governor Don Bernardo de López de Mendizábal (1659-61), Captain Domínguez was sent on 'the campaign of the Rio Grande (modern San Juan), where severe

Navajo figure showing typical Navajo handling of legs. An hourglass figure appears to the right.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

punishment was again meted out to the Apache enemies, many of whom were captured and killed.' In each of these instances, we find the terms Apache and Navajo used as applying to the same people and indeed to the same area, the Navajo. They are never identified as 'Gila' or any other kind of Apaches.

On another occasion, when some Apaches were mentioned they are indeed described as belonging 'to the Apache tribe of the cordilleras of Gila and Siete Rios, captained by El Chilmo and other treacherous partisans of his. . .' This was in a letter of Governor Juan de Miranda, dated at Santa Fe, August 2, 1671. These were the Apaches of the Gila region and of the Lower Rio Grande above El Paso, and they are specifically identified as such, whereas the rest of the hostile 'Apaches' west of the Rio Grande are invariably in Navajo territory.

If more evidence is needed to show that during the seventeenth century the Spaniards meant Navajos when they spoke of Apaches in northwestern New Mexico, we find it in a letter of Governor Don Juan Francisco Trevino on September 24, 1675, in which he wrote, 'Because of the atrocities, treacheries, and robberies which the hostile Apache nation have committed and continually commit, I have enlisted a force of 40 harquebusiers and 300 Indians armed with bow and arrow to punish them.' This force was to assemble at Sia and to go out, in good military order and discipline, 'to the cordilleras of Navajo, Casa Fuerte, and other places necessary to inflict proper punishment on the barbarous Apaches.' As we have already shown, the 'Apaches' in these sierras were acknowledged Navajos.

Further evidence of the same character is embodied in a letter of Governor Don Antonio de Otermín written at Santa Fe on July 12, 1678 in which he stated, 'The hostile infidel Apache nation, irreducible and perverse common enemies of our Holy Faith who surround this kingdom on all sides. . . aim at complete destruction of this province. . .' To counter their schemes and punish the hostile foe, Governor Otermín organized an expedition of '50 Spanish soldiers and 400 Christian Indians to go to the cordilleras of the west along the trails from the pueblo of Sia, where they are to pass muster before me' and instructed the commander of this force to destroy 'the grain fields of those who may be found in the jurisdiction of Casa Fuerte, Navajo, and Rio Grande (San Juan River) and all the other districts until an exemplary reprisal is accomplished.' Again, this expedition was directed at the Navajos who were here called Apaches.

After having carried out this order, the commander of the force was to continue 'to the cordillera of the Piedra Alumbre and march through this territory, where I understand the main part of the said enemies gather to commit robberies and damages in the jurisdiction of La Cañada. . . ' This was in the Abiquiu area of the Chama, where the Navajos were notorious.

In a supplementary letter of instructions to the military commander dated October 26, 1678, Governor Otermín bespoke his determination to inflict 'punishment and just war on the infidel enemy Indians, the Apache nation of the cordilleras of the west,' adding that they would:

> *lay in ambush at the Peñon de San Esteban de Acoma where they destroyed some plantings, killed an Indian, and attempted to destroy the said pueblo and stronghold. They have committed other ravages in other jurisdictions, atrociously killing the settled Christians on the roads and trails; and their audacity and shamelessness have extended so far that they carried off seven animals from this villa (Santa Fe), there being nothing safe from the said enemies.*

In this letter Governor Otermín gave the object of the expedition as 'the cordilleras of the west, Casa Fuerte, Navaho, peñoles, and other places which may be necessary. . .' That the commander, Captain Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, performed his arduous task well is clear from the governor's commendation of November 26 of the same year, 1678, discharging the captain's commission, when he wrote that he 'burned and destroyed more that 2,500 fanegas of maize, and it is public knowledge that he captured the wives and children of the infidel Apache enemies, put to route an ambush they had prepared on a mesa, burned their settlements, and won many spoils, actions worthy of every reward.'

Further identification of this 'Rio Grande' is provided by Fray Alonzo de Pasadas, at one time custodian of the friars in New Mexico, who defined the location of this river in his *Informe* written in 1686. He spoke of the location of the Kingdom of Teguayo, a mythical kingdom nearly as famous as golden Quivira. Starting from Santa Fe, he explained, on known ground and going northwest, crossing (*pasando*) the sierras called *Casafuerte o Navajo,* one reaches 'the Rio Grande, which flows directly west, after traveling 60 leagues, which belongs to the Apache nation. . .' *('Pasando las sierras que llaman Casafuerte o Navajo, se llega al rio Grande, que va recto al Occidente, distancia de 60 leguas, poseida de la nación Apacha.')* Beyond this Rio Grande, or San Juan, there lived the Yuta nation, and still farther north there was the kingdom of Teguayo.

It will be noted that the route from Sante Fe, as described by Father Posadas, crossed the Sierras *'que llaman Casafuerte o Navajo'* before reaching the San Juan. This seems to show that the chain of mountains and mesas extending from the Gallina Mountains in the north to Mount Taylor in the south was the region spoken of as the *Sierras de Casafuerte* and Navajo in the records of the seventeenth century. In the Domínguez de Mendoza records, these names are applied to separate mountain systems, and not used as synonymous for the same cordillera. Unfortunately, no contemporary New Mexico maps of this period have survived, and the few records that were not destroyed in the Pueblo Revolt are largely religious sources accumulated by the Inquisition. These do not treat the Indian campaigns.

The mounting tension of warfare between Navajos, Pueblos and Spaniards ended finally in the extraordinary outbreak known as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, in which the various Indian tribes -- Pueblos as well as nomads -- combined to drive the white man and all his works out of New Mexico. Recurring droughts, with the resulting scarcities of goods, and the inability of the friars to supply the needs of their missions or to feed the hungry Indians under their charge, played a large part in the uprising as did the failure of the friars to convert the Navajos and Apaches.

Don Diego de Vargas was the governor who restored Spanish rule to New Mexico after the Indians had enjoyed twelve years of liberty. In 1692 Vargas made a successful entry into Santa Fe and began to make peace with the various pueblos. When he came to Jemez in October, 1692, this pueblo, 'which had many Apaches with them in their own quarters,' threatened hostility but finally gave in peacefully. These Apaches, says Dr. Irving A. Leonard, 'in all probability were Navaho, originally regarded as an Apache tribe . . . The Jemez people are known to have been on friendly terms with the Navaho, with whom they were allied against the Spaniards.'

When Vargas reached the Hopi pueblos, these also accepted him in peace, but there were many 'outsiders' -- Apaches -- who howled and whooped and tried to start a diversion. But Vargas, showing no fear, had no trouble with them. The Apaches, says Dr. Leonard, 'in this

case as in others above referred to were probably Navaho.'

Without laboring the point further, it seems clear that the Apaches west of the Rio Grande and north of the Acoma-Zuni area in the seventeenth century were the modern Navajo. They held that region in force, as the constant protests of the Spaniards against them during this century demonstrate.

During the Pueblo Revolt, the Navajos were allied with the Jemez Indians and took part in some of the fighting against the Spaniards. In 1694, the Spaniards were warned by the governor of the pueblo of Sia, 'that the Jemez and their neighbors the Navahos were about to join forces' to attack. A few months later, in July, 'the combined forces of the Keres of Cochiti, and the Navahos,' had attacked Sia and several of their number had been killed. In 1696, there are continual references in the Vargas documents to the Navajos, allied with Jemez, Cochiti, or other pueblos, for the purpose of resisting the Spaniards. These records show the Navajos in intimate association with the Pueblo groups of the Jemez area, suggestive of people living in close proximity to each other.

Governor Vargas' successor was Don Pedro Rodríguez Cubero, who served in that office from 1697-1703. During a large part of his term he was too busy with administration of the province to pay much attention to the frontiers, though in 1697 he settled certain rebel Keres Indians from Santo Domingo, Cochiti, Sia and probably other towns on the Rio Cubero (now Rio San José) about 15 miles northeast of Acoma. Governor Cubero visited this town in 1699 and it was named José de la Laguna, from the lagoon which then existed west of the pueblo. Governor Cubero also made some campaigns farther west, notably to the Hopi country, but little is known of what occurred.

The next governor, Don Francisco Cuervo y Valdés, though he ruled only from 1705-1707, waged vigorous war against the Navajos and induced them to submit and ask for missionaries. Within 15 days after he arrived in the province of New Mexico, 'he sent a company of soldiers in pursuit of two large bands of enemies from the Navajo rancherias who had stolen some beasts and cattle from the towns of San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and San Juan.' Evidently such punitive measures were greatly needed, for Captain Aguilar says the pueblos were harassed by 'the continual invasions made into them by the heathen enemy Indians of the Apache nation. . .falling upon them by surprise and subjecting them to constant danger, for they were not safe even while weeding and working their cornfields.'

Aguilar said the pueblos most subject to attack were, from west to east: Zuni, Acoma, Laguna, Jemez, Alameda, and other pueblos up the river, as far as Pecos. The governor, he continued, quickly sent soldiers against such hostile Navajo rancherias.

According to Captain Aguilar, Governor Cuervo y Valdés made various expeditions against the Navajos, 'in all of which he won most happy victories.' As a result of this activity the frontiers were pacified and the pueblos at peace. Aguilar's report, dated at Santa Fe, January 10, 1706, was supplemented by a report of the governor himself which primarily concerned the lack of ministers in New Mexico, especially among the Navajos. In his report the governor defined the boundaries of the Navajos for the first time in the history of the Spanish occupancy of New Mexico. These boundaries, given without solicitation or request from higher authority, establish the bounds of the Navajos as they had probably been for a hundred years before that time. Indeed, the fugitive reports cited above of the presence of Navajos at various points of contact with Spaniards and Pueblo Indians during the seventeenth century are now substantiated in this statement of Governor Cuervo y Valdéz.

The Navajo province, said the governor, was extensive and was the dwelling place of

many Indians who went under the name of Navajo. Their land, he wrote, extended 'about one hundred leagues from south to north.' On the north they were bounded by the Yutas, Carlanas, and Comanches. In fact, these tribes lived not only to the north but also to the northeast. The Utes are readily recognized; they were north of the San Juan River. The Carlanas were Jicarilla Apaches and at this time roamed to the north and northeast of Taos. The Comanches were farther east but were constantly exerting pressure on the tribes in New Mexico and forcing them westward. They frequently came to Taos to trade, and sometimes to raid.

Along the Rio Grande Governor Cuervo described the Navajo boundary as forming a semicircle through El Peñasco de las Huellas, the San Antonio, Jara, and Culebra rivers, which are clearly the same as the present streams of those names that flow into the Rio Grande above the New Mexico-Colorado border. Next he traced the boundary through the Embudo de la Piedra Lumbre, which is the canyon of the Chama River above Abiquiu (and is shown on the *Miera y Pacheco* map, p.56-57 of this text).

From the Abiquiu area, Governor Cuervo placed the Navajo boundary at the old pueblo of Chama (modern Chamita at the confluence of the Chama and Rio Grande rivers). From there it bordered most of the pueblos with Christianized Indians, including the group from Taos to Picures, and, on the Rio Grande River, the pueblos of San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Cochiti, and San Felipe, and as far as the towns of Bernalillo and Albuquerque.

The southern border of the Navajo country, said the governor, touched the pueblos of Jemez, Sia, Santa Ana, and a place called El Nacimiento, a settlement in the region of modern Cuba. Thence it bordered the Rio Puerco, Cebolleta (on the eastern slope of Mt. Taylor), Laguna, Acoma, Inscription Rock, the pueblo of Zuni, and the Hopi pueblos.

On the western side, beyond the Hopi pueblo, 'the dividing line is the large river' which, according to report, 'flows to the sea.' By the 'large river' the governor was referring to the Colorado River, whose course to the sea had been known at least since Oñate made his expedition to the Gulf of California in 1604-1605.

'The line thus extends,' wrote Governor Cuervo, 'from one extreme to the other, about three hundred leagues.' This, in modern terms, would be about six or seven hundred miles, but it must be remembered that there were as yet no accurate surveys or maps and the country beyond the Hopi pueblos, so very remote from the Rio Grande settlements, was less well known. These boundaries described by Governor Cuervo definitely placed the Gallina and the watershed of the Upper Chama River among the areas as then inhabited by the Navajos.

The Navajos, said Governor Cuervo y Valdéz, had waged continual wars against the province of New Mexico from Oñate's time to the Revolt of 1680 -- wars which they had continued from the Reconquest under Vargas in 1693 until his own arrival in the province as governor in 1705, when he halted them by vigorous military action. This report of 1706 of Governor Cuervo y Valdés is, in the annals of the Navajos, a document of major importance. In it the governor recognized a fact that had long been apparent, but not explicitly stated in the surviving records, that the Navajos lived on the very borders of the Spanish and Pueblo settlements of the Rio Grande Valley.

From the report written early in the eighteenth century (about 1723), summarizing the most recent events in New Mexico -- especially those relating to the Pueblo Revolt -- we are informed that Governor Cuervo sent an expedition against the Navajos in July, 1705, under the leadership of Roque de Madrid, a recognized Indian fighter. At that time, says this chronicler, most of the Navajos lived 'on the banks of a river then called Grande, but now called Navajo

(modern San Juan), which rises in the Sierra de las Grullas (San Juan Mountains) about 50 leagues north of Santa Fe, in 38 degrees of latitude.' From Santa Fe this expedition went by way of Taos, west to the Chama, and struck the San Juan near the modern Dulce-Lumberton area. In three engagements Madrid killed 40 or 50 Navajos and captured some women, whereupon the enemy retreated to a peñol or mesa two days' journey south of the river. By this time the mounts were exhausted, the Spaniards weary and out of water, and but for a sudden summer rain that sent a heavy stream down the arroyo the men would have suffered severely. The chronicler attributed the rain to the miraculous intervention of heaven, but it was of course a typical summer rainstorm in the desert. After destroying the cornfields of the Indians and imposing a temporary peace on the terrified foe, the expedition returned to the pueblo of Sia on August 19.

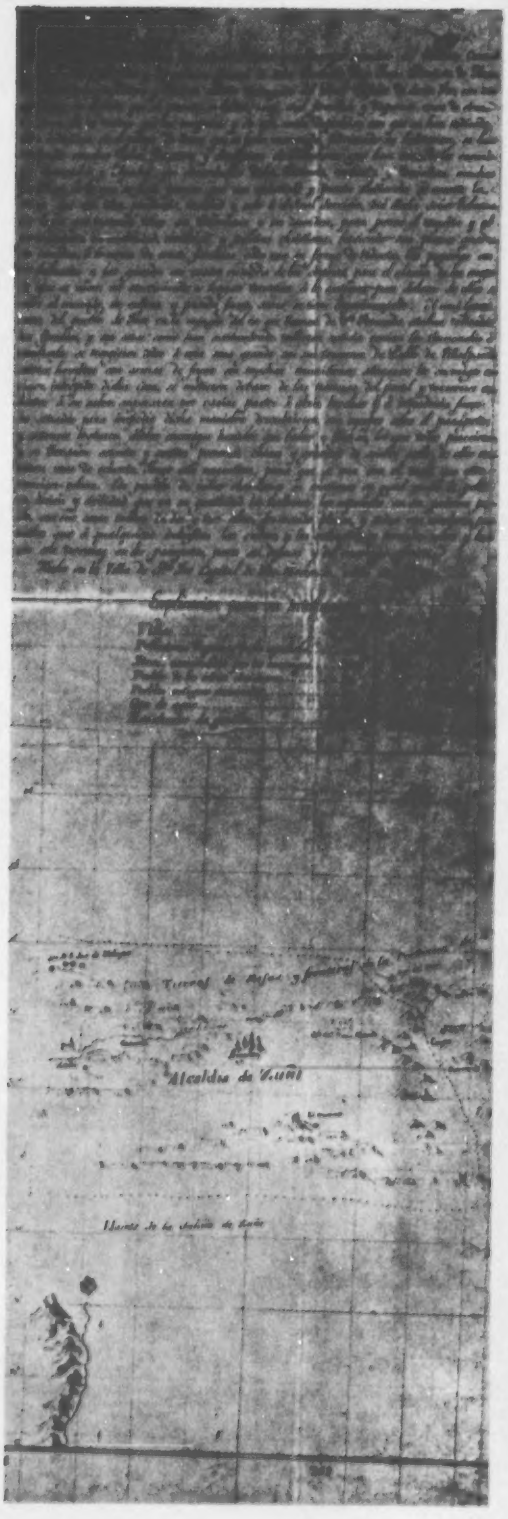
The peace did not last long. By the fall of 1708 the Navajos were again robbing and killing among the frontier settlements. On June 9, 1709 they attacked Jemez, desecrated the church, and caused other damage. The governor, Marques de las Peñuelas, sent two squadrons of soldiers against them but was unable to inflict punishment 'because they had a great advantage in numbers.' This forced the governor to marshal the resources of the province and to pursue the Navajos without respite into their own country. Once again peace was restored.

By 1713, the Navajos were back again, attacking the settlements. Another more formidable expedition led by Cristobal de la Serna who commanded 50 soldiers, 200 citizens and 150 friendly Pueblo Indians was sent against the Navajos. With this force, Captain de la Serna was able 'to punish the Navaho in their own rancherias.' The route of the expedition from Jemez, the point of organization, went south of the Jemez Mountains toward the headwaters of the Largo, evidently, and on to the San Juan. As usual, the Navajo cornfields were destroyed, some of their people captured and killed, and they were forced to accept peace.

In March of 1714, the Navajos again broke the peace killing a captain in the pueblo of Jemez. Another expedition, approximately as large as Captain de la Serna's of the previous year, was organized under Maestre de Campo Roque de Madrid and sent against them. He probably set out by way of the Chama, attacked the Navajos in various mesas and fortified places -- *'peñoles y torreones'* -- killed a few of the enemy and captured about 30. In addition he seized about 200 fanegas of corn, quantities of other seeds, 110 sheep and goats, and was still in the field when a report of the expedition was written.

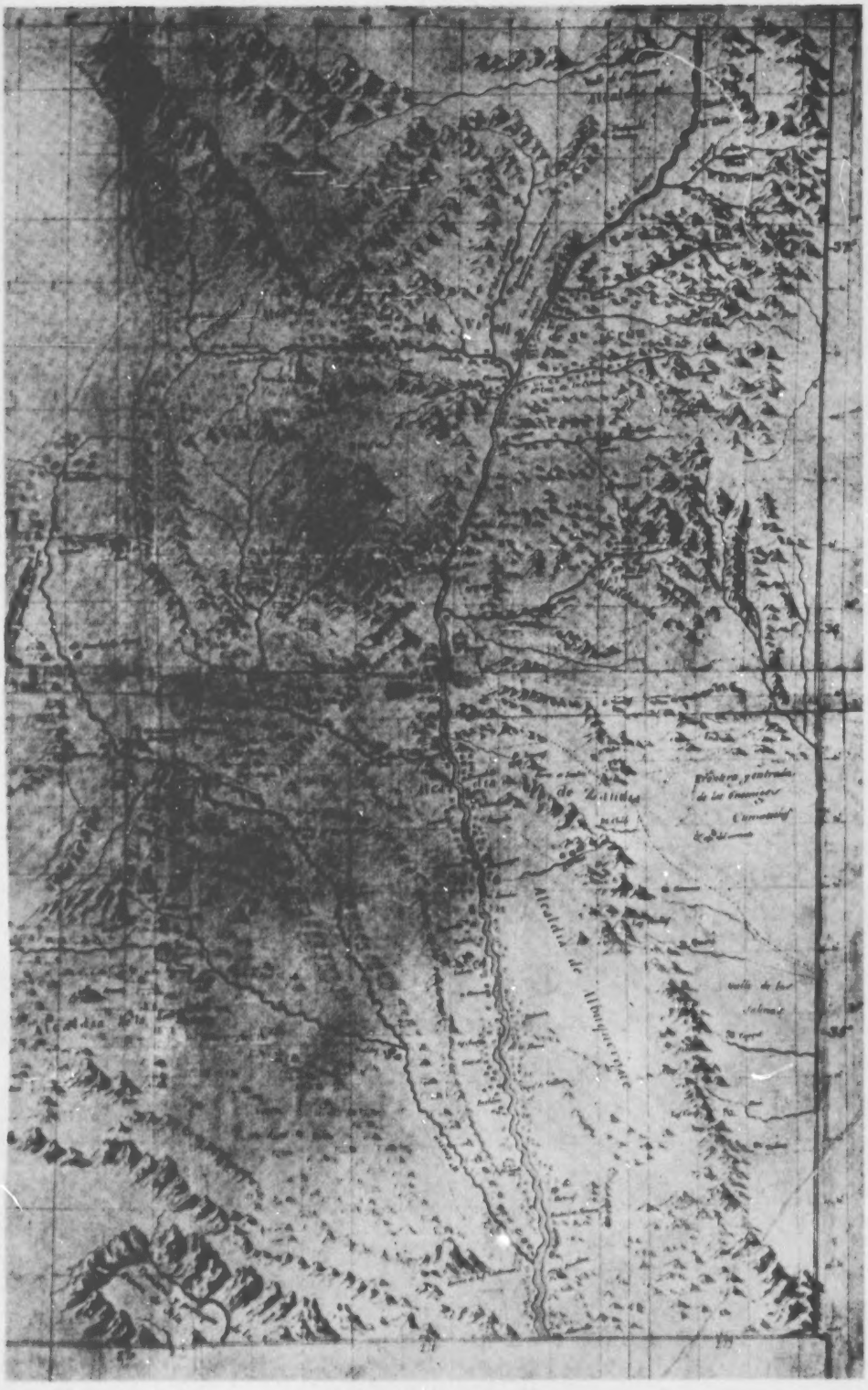
After 1714, relations between Spaniards and Navajos seem to have improved. Several soldiers who testified before Governor Codallos y Rabal in 1745 named no other campaign against this tribe to that date. Evidently a period of peace prevailed during these years, broken only by Comanche and Ute hostilities. These attacks appear, however, to have been directed primarily against the Jicarillas north of Taos. Ute hostility may have been directed at Taos and other pueblos which had taken advantage of them during trading fairs. One such instance is recorded for the year 1714, when the Utes stole 14 horses from the Taos Indians, causing fighting and bloodshed that required the intervention of the governor to restore peace.

Between 1715 and 1720, a new danger to New Mexico appeared on the horizon. This was the coming of the Comanches, who are first recorded as being in New Mexico early in the eighteenth century. By 1719, the Comanche threat was sufficient to cause Governor Valverde to make a long reconnaissance against them, and in 1720, to send a military expedition far to the northeast. Pedro de Villasur led this campaign and was killed by the Pawnees and his



Miera y Pacheco map of New Mexico, 1779. (From Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1932, p. 86).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

troops cut to pieces. The Spanish officials suspected French intrusion among the Comanches and proposed the establishment of a Spanish presidio at El Cuartelejo, some 130 leagues from Santa Fe on the present Colorado-Kansas border, to protect the old settlements of New Mexico from a combined Comanche-French danger.

In New Mexico, the governor and his advisors considered it impossible to found a post at such a remote spot so completely isolated from the New Mexico settlements and separated from a base of supply by 300 to 400 miles of hostile Comanche and Jicarilla country. In 1724, the Utes committed depredations at Jemez and the Comanches attacked the Jicarilla Apaches at a place called Jicarilla (north of Taos), took half their women and children, burned the place, and killed 'all but 69 men, two women, and three boys -- all mortally wounded.'

The location of the Jicarillas northeast of New Mexico and the proposal to settle them near Taos was observed by Captain Pedro de Rivera, who made a significant inspection of New Mexico in 1726. Rivera definitely opposed the establishment of a presidio among the Jicarillas, proposing they might settle down with the New Mexicans to form a barrier against Comanche power. Seven years later in 1733 a mission for the Jicarillas was actually built by Father José Ortiz de Velasco, the custodian of the Franciscans in New Mexico, on the Rio Trampas, but the governor stopped their trade (presumably with the Comanches) in hides and the Jicarillas fled. So wrote Fray Agustin de Morfi in 1782 in his report on New Mexico. In 1748, according to a report by Governor Codallas y Rabal, the Comanches swept the Jicarillas completely out of their ancient lands in and beyond northeastern New Mexico and they were compelled to find a new home in New Mexico nearer the Spanish settlements.

To counteract the westward shift of this tribe Governor Codallos recommended the establishment of a presidio:

> *at the point called Jicarilla, distant from the said Pueblo of Taos twenty leagues. This location is very convenient as to lands, water, pasturage, and timber. Here were located, in times past, the Indians of the Jicarilla nation, who were numerous, had houses, palisade-huts, and other shelters (tenian casas, jacales, y otras chozas). Thence the Gentile Comanches despoiled them, killing most of them; and the few that remained of said Jicarillas have sheltered and maintained themselves in peace near by the Pueblos of Taos and Pecos, with their families. Said site of the Jicarilla is the pass (garganta) for shutting off the aforesaid populous nation of Comanches -- and the French, if they tried to make any entrance to this said kingdom.*

In sum, pressure from the powerful Plains Indians, especially the Comanches, was the force that drove the weaker tribes, including the Jicarillas, causing trouble in New Mexico where the 'softer' Spanish settlements found it expedient to make room for them. From this time on, the Jicarillas were to share lands in New Mexico with the Pueblo Indians and the Spaniards, inhabiting the area above Taos, and extended westward to and across the Rio Grande. Here we find them, in the Taos-Upper Rio Grande-Upper Chama area, at the time of the American occupation in 1846.

From the Reconquest of New Mexico under Vargas to the middle of the eighteenth century, the Spaniards made strenuous efforts to reimpose their government and religion on the Hopi pueblos. These Indians, having thrown off the Spanish yoke during the Pueblo Rebellion, had no desire now to yield their old gods in favor of others. Nearly every governor from Vargas on made expeditions to Hopi land accompanied by friars, occasionally obtaining

some promises; but as soon as the soldiers left, the Indians reverted to their old ways.

During this time the Jesuits, having witnessed the failure of the Franciscans to convert the Hopi, sought permission to do so. A royal cedula dated February 11, 1719 awarded the province to them. The Jesuits, whose missions in Pimería Alta (southern Arizona) had been founded by Father Eusebio Kino, argued that they could enlarge their base in Pimeria and provide a more direct contact with the Hopi through Arizona then could the Franciscans through remote New Mexico. The latter, who had held the Rio Grande country since Oñate planted the first settlements in 1598, opposed this move obstinately. They were finally successful in retrieving the right to the Hopi missionary field, though not until Father Carlos Delgado of Isleta reported progress in reducing them to Christianity once more.

This man, Delgado, an elderly, retired friar, had obtained the permission of the custodian to embark on the Hopi mission. Taking along Fray Pedro Ignacio del Pino of Albuquerque, the two visited the Hopi pueblos in 1742 and were received in friendship. From the cliffs of these rocky towns they preached to these people, apparently without making any converts, but they brought out 441 Tiwa (and other?) Indians who had fled from the pueblos of Sandia, Alameda, and Pajarito (near modern Albuquerque) during the disturbances following the 1680 Pueblo Revolt.These refugees were resettled at different missions. No details were provided except that Fray Pino begged the commissary general to settle them in one place where they might be taught and kept in the faith.

The success achieved by Fathers Delgado and Pino in removing these Christian Indians from Hopi did not satisfy them for they wanted to establish missions in Hopi land itself. In September, 1745, Father Delgado made another trip to them accompanied by Friars José Yrigoyen and Juan José Toledo. On this visit they reported having counted 10,846 Indians, and said that the Hopis were glad to have them back. On the strength of these reports the King restored the Hopi province to the Franciscans of New Mexico on November 23, 1745. Though this controversy is in many ways academic insofar as the Navajos are concerned, the reports made by these friars in which they fail to mention the Navajos show that at this time the Spanish had little contact with them, and apparently none with the tribes farther west.

Meanwhile, Fathers Delgado and Yrigoyen, equally anxious to convert the Navajos, visited the 'Provincia de Nabajoo' in March, 1744. Father Delgado wrote in his report of their trip that he first went to San Diego de las Jemez, where Yrigoyen was stationed 'and which is near the said province of Navajo.' In their journey they were well received by not a few people, including captains and caciques, 'who received us with a great show of joy and gladly, listened to my words of salvation.' At the request of the Navajos, the friars remained six days so that others could be assembled to hear them. Finally, wrote Father Delgado to his superior, 'all became Christians and were placed in missions in their own province, which is not far from this holy custodia (of New Mexico) and very suitable for settlement.'

Before leaving the Navajo province, Delgado arranged to have some of the chiefs visit the governor in Santa Fe at 'the full of the moon,' which they did. The governor received them kindly. Delgado reported that they told him of the friendly disposition of their people and of their desire to have Christian missionaries among them. As a consequence, Delgado urged the viceroy to authorize the extension of missions to the Navajos, a people who numbered from 4,000 to 5,000 souls according to his information. Their country extended 60 leagues from north to south and about 90 leagues from east to west, he wrote, and had many settlements, a

large number of cattle and sheep, many cornfields, some of wheat, a large river (the San Juan), various waterholes, and was 60 leagues from the villa of Santa Fe.

Some reports of this Navajo mission reached the ears of the King in Spain, which led him to issue a cedula instructing the viceroy, in view of the conversion of 5,000 Navajos by Fathers Delgado and Yrigoyen, to send a detailed report of the episode and, if what they were reported to have done was true, to 'attend by all possible means to the increase and extension' of the new conversions. This cedula was dated November 23, 1745. Shortly thereafter, the Father custodian, Fray Juan Miguel Menchero, while on an inspection of the custodia or province of New Mexico, visited the Navajos and preached to them in 1746, finding them 'sufficiently reduced to be gathered into the fold of our holy Father.'

Father Menchero also visited the Navajos at Cebolleta and converted more than 500 souls. Father Mirabal spoke of them as Apaches, the term which was then used interchangeably for the Navajos. In modern times however the Navajos have always lived at Cebolleta and there is nothing to suggest that these 'Apaches' could have been anything but Navajos.

When the viceroy of Mexico weighed the evidence given by the friars and governor of New Mexico with regard to the feasibility of establishing missions for the Navajos, he concluded that it should be done and in 1746 authorized the founding of four missions and a presido of 30 men among these people. In response to this order, Father Menchero started missions at Cebolleta and Encinal for the Navajos (apparently in 1748).

In 1750, the Navajos of Encinal wished to move to Cubero, where there was a more abundant supply of water, but the Indians of Acoma opposed the move. The resulting controversy led the governor to send lieutenant governor, Don Bernardo Antonio Bustamante, to make peace between the contending groups and to arrange matters so that both Acoma and the Navajos would be content with their "possessions, territories, waters, and pastures." The governor also requested the vice-custodian, Nepomuceno y Trigo, to do what he could by personal intervention, but when he reached Laguna on April 16, 1750, he learned that the Indians at both Cebolleta and Encinal had rebelled and driven out their missionaries. These were evidently Fray Juan Lezaun at Encinal and Fray Manuel Vermejo at Cebolleta, who had labored at these two posts in 1748 but had failed because the governor sought to exploit the new converts.

When the lieutenant governor and the vice-custodian held meetings at the two missions on April 16-17, 1750, exhorting these Indians to remain true to the faith, they refused, insisting that "they had been raised like deer, wandering from one place to another," and that they did not want to be Christians and to live in a pueblo though their children might some day wish to live such a life. They would be happy to live as they had for many years, in friendship and intercourse with the Spaniards. Such was their message to the governor's representatives.

Two important visitations of the missions of New Mexico were made in the eighteenth century and of both we have some information on the Navajos although it was not the Bishop's purpose to deal with the nomadic tribes. The first of these was made by Bishop Benito Crespo of Durango in 1730. In a letter to the viceroy, he commented on the Navajos while speaking of Santa Ana in the Jemez Valley. From Santa Ana "to the aforesaid one of Santa Clara upstream is the numerous tribe of Navajos, who show signs of being converted..."Bishop Crespo then urged the Spaniards to be alert and seize the first opportunity to send friars to the Navajos, "for

the mission of Jemez is five leagues from the Navajos and they are trading with all the pueblos of that range." CLearly he was referring to the Jemez range and to the fact that Navajos lived on the opposite side of it from the Jemez Pueblo. Archaeologists have found Navajo sites on the mesas west of Jemez Mountains, giving proof of the accuracy of Bishop Crespo's observation in 1730.

In 1760, another bishop of Durango, Pedro Tamarón, made his episcopal visitation to New Mexico and described each of the missions in some detail. Though he had little to say of nomadic Indians, at Laguna he spoke of "the place of the Cebolletas where Father Menchero founded the two pueblos already mentioned. The inhabitants are Navajoes and Apaches, and many of them live in those cañadas...Some of their huts were seen."

While Tamarón was at Laguna some Navajos apparently came to ask for friars and for pueblos, expressing a desire to become Christians. The experienced missionaries warned Tamarón that the Navajos were inconstant, that they always asked for friars for this meant gifts, and when the gifts ceased to flow freely the Indians would refuse to observe the catechism. The bishop could only urge the friars to keep on trying to draw the Navajos to their faith.

Shortly after Tamarón's visitation another Franciscan friar, Francisco Garcés, approached Navajo country from the west. Garcés was on an exploratory journey which took him from southern California up the Colorado and via Bill William's Fork to the Havasupai Indians in Cataract Canyon (near the south rim of the Grand Canyon). From there he set out eastward, passing north of the San Francisco Mountains, and at seven-and-a-half leagues -- possibly 20 to 25 miles -- before reaching the Little Colorado, he found three families awaiting his arrival so that they might accompany him:

> *because this road was for them very hazardous, on account of the war that they wage with the Yabipais Tejua and Napao; these live in a sierra they call Napac, which disparts (se disprenda) from that of the Puerto de Bucaréli and runs to the west, rising at intervals (á trechos) very high, and maintaining itself even at this season snowy. This sierra have I kept continually to the right...*

Dr. Elliot Coues, in commenting on this passage, identifies the Napao or Napac as the Navajos, an identification that we believe to be incontrovertible. The Yabipais Tejua were the Yavapais. Coues, one of the most learned scholars of Southwestern lore, continues:

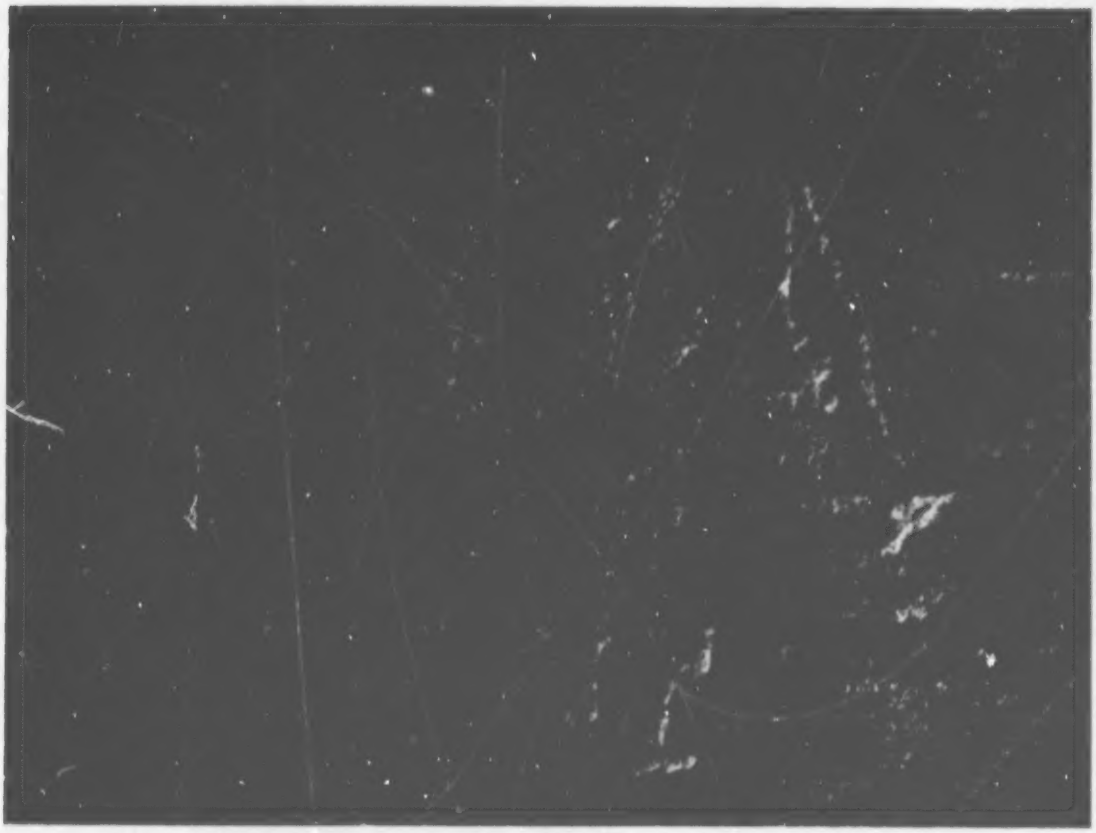
> *The original range of the Navajos extended from San Francisco mountains in Arizona on the west to the vicinity of Jemez pueblo in New Mexico on the east, and from the San Juan mountains on the north to Mt. San Mateo or Taylor on the south.*

Father Garcés reached the Hopi pueblo of Oraibi on July 2, 1776 and remained there two days. The Hopis refused to admit him to their houses, but he camped in the street until he found it expedient to leave. While so encamped a Zuni Indian came to him and explained that the Hopis were hostile, that they did not believe he was a padre, and that, in any case, they did not wish to be baptized, but that he might accompany him and some companions to the pueblo of Zuni the next day. In making this explanation, he assured Father Garcés that he should have "no fear of the Apache Nabajai, for they have come down in peace, begging hatchets, dibbles,

and hoes in return for antelope skins." In other words, there were Navajos in the vicinity who might attack a party on its way from Oraibi to Zuni. Father Garcés chose to return to California and so had no direct contact with the Navajos.

In 1775, the year before Father Garcés' remarkably journey to the Hopi country, Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante had gone to the Hopi pueblos on instructions from Governor Mendinueta to inspect that province. He wrote a long report on conditions of the Hopis, describing also the tribes which surrounded them.

The province is bounded on the east by the Navajos, on the west and northwest by the Cosninas (Havasupai), on the north by the Utes, on the south by the Gila Apaches and on the southwest with others whom they call here Mescaleros and in Moqui, Yochies, and Tassabuess.



Feathered headdress figure holding a bow in one hand and a rattle or wand in the other. Navajos have no such headdress at present. This panel is located in Crow Canyon.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

In 1782, when Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi prepared a 'Geographical Description' of New Mexico, he followed substantially Father Escalante's account of the bounds of the various western tribes. According to Morfi's report,

> *This province (Hopi) is bounded on the east by that of Zuni and Navajo; on the west and northwest by the Cominas; on the north by the Utes; and on the south by the Apaches whom in New Mexico they call Mescaleros and in Moqui lochies and Tasabues. They are the Gila Apaches themselves and Pimas.*

Both Escalante and Morfi based their judgment as to boundaries on such personal information as they could obtain. Neither of them had been west of the Hopi pueblos at this time and therefore made their statements on that area based only on heresay evidence.

During the 1770s and 1780s, the Spaniards faced greater threats in Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, Chihuahua, and New Mexico from Apache attacks than from any other source. To cripple or destroy Apache power became, therefore, a major objective of government policy. The viceroy of Mexico instructed the officials of the northern provinces to inaugurate a concerted drive on this enemy, a drive that achieved its greatest success while Juan Bautista de Anza was governor of New Mexico from 1778 to 1788.

The Apaches lived in southwestern New Mexico, from the Mimbres Mountains westward, and in southeastern Arizona near the headwaters of the Gila River. They made devastating raids on the older Spanish settlements in northern Mexico, which resulted in retaliatory military expeditions against them from Tucson, Fronteras, Janos and Velarde (in Chihuahua, east of Janos) in the spring of 1784. These attacks, carried out with great strength and vigor, apparently induced the Gila Apaches to seek protection among the Navajos, but the Spanish Commander General Antonio Rengel, in command of the northern frontier, ordered Governor Anza to break up such an alliance and to induce the Navajos to join in the attack on the Apaches. The Navajos were forbidden to cross the Rio de la Laguna (Rio San Jose), 'which separates them from the Gilas,' and were told that a Spanish force would patrol the region south of this stream and seize and punish any Navajos that might be found there. As a result of these moves, 46 Navajos, including seven chiefs, came to the Alcalde of Laguna and volunteered to make a campaign against the Gila Apaches if reinforced 'by eighty of our Indians.' This request was granted, and the combined Navajo-Pueblo Indian force attacked the Gilas in the Sierra Azul, 'the heart of their country,' (possibly the Datil Mountains). The Gilas retaliated by attacking the Navajos and hostility between the two groups, thus fostered by the Spaniards, continued. Indeed, from 1785 to the end of Spanish rule, it was a cardinal point in Spanish frontier policy to keep the Navajos and Apaches hostile toward each other in spite of any feeling of kinship that might exist between them.

Spaniards and Navajos kept the peace in New Mexico until about 1803 when conflict once more broke out between them. Don Pedro Baptista Pino, whose *Exposition of the Province of New Mexico* was published in Spain in 1812, described the Navajos as a peaceful people, engaged in farming and stockraising, but he wrote that war broke out with the Spaniards in 1803 and continued until 1805 when peace was re-established.

According to Bancroft, the peace of 1805 stipulated that the Navajos should have no claim to Cebolleta; that their livestock might not go beyond the canyon of Juan Tafolla, Rio del Oso, and Mt. Taylor; and that they had to give up some captives, sheep, horses, and cattle. This

treaty was made after they had been thoroughly punished, the Spaniards having sent several expeditions against them and defeating them in their stronghold of Canyon de Chelly. Once again the Navajos had been forced to accept peace and limitation of their territorial range at the point of a gun.

Early in 1808, an interesting conflict over the right to ownership of two canyons located northeast of Cebolleta and known as Juan Tafolla and Pedro Padilla, arose between the Navajos and some Spanish settlers from Albuquerque who had settled at Cebolleta. As early as 1805, the settlers had complained of Navajo raids on Cebolleta, saying that there were 40 Navajo families nearby who robbed their cornfields in order to support themselves. When in 1808 the Navajos complained that Spanish settlers had gone beyond Cebolleta to the Canyons of Pedro Padilla and Juan Tafolla and invaded Navajo territory, Governor Joaquín Real Alencaster ordered an alcalde mayor of Albuquerque to make an investigation and to evict the settlers if the Navajo complaints were justified. To carry out this command, the alcalde mayor sent Lieutenant Bartolome Baca, who met the Navajos on May 31 and June 1-2, and made an on-the-spot examination of the situation.

Not only did Lieutenant Baca investigate the above complaints, he also examined the situation on the Puerco River where Captains Delgadito and Segundo and some of their Indian charges met him at a spring on the western side of the stream. The Indians showed Baca a small cornfield at the Rio Puerco which they had planted that year and the year previous, and complained that now five Spanish settlers from Albuquerque had settled there. Questioned by Baca as to what authority they had for doing so, the Spaniards said they had permission of their lieutenant. When Baca pressed them for the permit in writing, they did not have it. Lieutenant Baca explained to the settlers that such grants could be made only by the governor; he then ordered that they should lose the fields they had planted there and that these should be divided up among the most needy of the Navajos.

Baca went next to the canyon called Juan Tafolla (modern Marquez) in the Sierra de Navajo, to investigate the Navajo charge that the Spaniards grazed their sheep in this canyon and consumed the water so there was not sufficient water for their fields. Baca called together the Spanish majordomos and in the presence of the Navajos ordered them not to damage or injure the Navajo lands in the canyon, under penalty of a fine of 12 pesos and 12 days in jail for the first offense, and if it should be repeated by whatever penalty his superior might require. To make sure that there should be no trouble, Baca set the Cerro Chato as a boundary below which the Spaniards must keep their sheep. (Cerro Chato is a black, flat-topped volcanic cone approximately four miles below the town of Marquez in the canyon of Juan Tafolla.) This landmark is still so called by local residents.

One other Navajo complaint remained: namely that the Spanish settlers from Cebolleta hindered the Indians from planting their crops in Pedro Padilla Canyon. This little valley, about two miles wide and three or four miles long, lies halfway between Juan Tafolla and Cebolleta. The Navajos argued that only Cebolleta and its immediate environs had been granted to the Spaniards by the governor and not the poorer lands farther away, and that when the settlers saw how the Navajo fields in Pedro Padilla Canyon prospered they quit their own fields near Cebolleta to interfere with those of the Indians.

In this difficulty Lieutenant Baca went to Cebolleta and wrote to the alcalde of Laguna, under whose jurisdiction Cebolleta lay, informing him of the Navajo complaint. The alcalde

came to Cebolleta with the patent bearing the governor's approval which showed that the canyon of Pedro Padilla fell within the grant made to the settlers of Cebolleta. Baca then informed the Navajos that he would have to report to his superior on the situation as he did not have the power to make the decision. The Navajos broke out in tears and showed great emotion, but there the matter rested on June 4, 1808.

Since the Navajos continued to complain, Lorenso Gutierrez, alcalde of Albuquerque, made a new investigation on June 9. He recommended that Pedro Padilla Canyon be allotted to the Navajos, but he recognized that since it had been included in the Cebolleta grant he could only refer the matter to the governor. He added, however, that this should be done because the Navajos were suffering very badly from the lack of fields in which to raise their food. As to ejecting the Spanish settlers from the Navajo fields on the Rio Puerco, he held this to be entirely legal and proper.

Two weeks later on July 3, 1808, Gutierrez was able to report that Governor Alberto Maynez had approved all his recommendations with respect to Canyon Pedro Padilla and that it was to be given to the Navajos even though it lay within the boundaries of the Cebolleta grant; if the inhabitants had any complaints, they could still be lodged. In the meantime Lieutenant Don Vicente Lopez was ordered to go to Cebolleta and Canyon Pedro Padilla and in the presence of the residents of the town to give possession of the said canyon to Captain Segundo of the Navajos, pending any other action by the government. If there were any Spaniards who had no other cornfield whatever but in Canyon Pedro Padilla, they were to be allowed to gather their harvest, but that was all. Lopez performed his task immediately but when, in the town of Cebolleta, he informed the settlers of his commission and asked them to go with him to Pedro Padilla Canyon to witness the transfer, only four of the 15 who had planted fields there went along. He found also that there was only one Spanish settler who had not planted somewhere else, and this was a blind man, Juanico Tafolla. Lopez allowed him to retain his plot until after the harvest and warned the Navajos to treat him like a brother. There was one sour note in this affair when a Navajo, Juan Antonio, told Lopez in the presence of the settlers that in April the settlers of Cebolleta, arms in hand, had gone to the canyon and acted as though they wanted to fight. This frightened the Navajos, Antonio said, and they therefore withdrew and did not plant their fields.

The final note in the records of this case is contained in a report of José Antonio Chaves, sent by Alcalde Gutiérrez on June 25, 1808 to investigate another complaint made by Captain Segundo on behalf of the Navajos. Chavez, in fulfillment of orders, went to the Puerco River where several Navajo families lived. Santiago, a Navajo (who replaced Captain Segundo who had remained in Atrisco near Albuquerque), explained the damage to Navajo fields caused by the settlers' livestock (*ganados*). Chaves at once recognized the justness of the charge and required the settlers to pay, apportioning the costs as fairly as possible.

The lieutenant says that when this was concluded the Navajos told him they did not wish to leave or to claim as their own the land they had planted out of necessity to support themselves and their families. They begged him to prevent the sheepherders from causing similar damage again, especially by leaving animals to run about loose. Chaves ordered the Spaniards to keep their cattle at some distance from the Navajo fields. Judging by the evidence that could still be seen, it was clear to Chaves that the damages were not of recent occurence, and he so informed the Spaniards 'so they might know that the complaints of the Navajos were not unjust.'

This "message" panel is located where Crow Canyon divides. A cloud figure with lightning appears on the left, possibly representing Protection Way *(Sodozin)*. The panel appears to say something specific.

From this controversy it is apparent that the governor of New Mexico and his officials recognized the legitimacy of Navajo claims to lands at a place called Atarque on the Rio Puerco, and to Pedro Padilla and Juan Tafolla Canyons about 15 to 20 miles west of the Puerco. The Navajo settlement at Atarque was probably on Salado Creek near the group of settlements later called La Cueva, San Francisco, Duran, and Ignacio, all on the Rio Puerco and on the road from Albuquerque to Cebolleta.

After a few more years of peace maintained by a 'new' Indian policy of liberal gifts to the tribes on the frontiers, the Navajos again figured in history in 1818 and 1819, when Governor Facunco Melgares defeated them in several expeditions, and then, in a treaty of 1819, drew new boundaries between them and the Spaniards of New Mexico. This, it was hoped, would keep the Navajos far enough away from the Rio Grande settlements to prevent trouble in the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

future.

This treaty, signed on August 21, 1819, by Governor Melgares and a group of five Navajo chiefs, gave to the Navajo tribe 'the lands it had enjoyed until now for farming, grazing, and for such other uses as it might wish' (*condede a la expresada tribu Navajo los terrenos que hasta ahora han disfrutado para siembras, pasteos y demas usos que les convenga*). Further, it specified that, to prevent disturbances and to preserve peace, it was agreed to establish limits within which cattle of the Spanish settlers might be grazed (*convience senarlarles limites a los ganados de la provincia*). Hence (Sec. 12 of the Treaty):

> *the boundary shall remain as it was formerly, without change, to Cañon Largo, the entrance (boca) to Chaco Canyon, and Bluewater, up to which point the cattle (bienes) of New Mexico had in the past generally grazed. (La linea queda establecida sobre el pie antiguo sin alteración hasta el cañon Largo, boca del cañon de Chaca y Agua Azul, terrenos hasta donde generalmente han llegado los biences de la provincia en los años pasados. . .)*

By this agreement the government hoped for peace, and the Navajos were admonished to flee from anything that might disturb it, so they might raise their livestock, cultivate the soil, and enjoy the fruits of their labors and the protection of the King of Spain. This treaty marked the steady removal westward of the Navajo boundary, the result of the victory of Spanish arms over the Indians through a long period of time. Superior weapons, better organization, a secure source of food supplies from the Pueblos and from Mexico, thus achieved for the Spaniards inevitable supremacy over the impoverished Indian. Now the eastern boundary of Navajo territory as fixed by Spanish authority described a semi-circle along the Largo and Chaco Canyons to Bluewater, 25 miles west of Mount Taylor. This was the situation in New Mexico during the last years of Spain's rule in America."

The Rabal Document[2]

The majority of this chapter has presented evidence from Hammond's report (written as part of the Navajo Land Claims litigation). Much of Hammond's document sheds light, albeit indirect, on the original Navajo occupation of the Southwest in Dinétah.

Another report, first printed in 1744, affords one of the earliest, first-hand and written accounts of Navajo society, culture and daily life. This is the Rabal document. This manuscript contains testimony from 12 witnesses, most of whom were members of a Spanish expedition into Navajo country, and may well describe life in the Dinétah area at the time. While the exact location of sites described in the depositions is unclear, it appears certain that the area which encompasses the Dinétah region was within the general territory.

The period upon which the 12 statements are based spans the years 1706 to 1743. Zarate-Salmerón (1626) and Benavides (1630) provide the only other known historical references to the Navajos at an earlier date; these accounts, however, are brief and do not give a detailed picture of Navajo life at the time. Moreover, the descriptions of Zarate-Salmerón and Benavides are not as readily identifiable as references to Dinétah.

In the Rabal depositions, all 12 witnesses mention farming, making basketry and weaving as traditional Navajo occupations. According to these witnesses, the Navajos also

grew corn, beans and pumpkins. Sheep and goats were the most important domestic animals, witnesses claim, and Navajos possessed very few horses. Hunting was an important economic activity.

The Rabal document describes women dressed in black woven wool garments, and men dressed in buckskin. Buckskin was also used as a trade item. Wool blankets were worn by both men and women.

Navajo residences were located on top of mesas for defensive purposes; they had stone walls with cribbed timber roofs and were covered with earth. Warfare was an ever-present reality. The greatest threat, according to witnesses' statements, was from the Utes.

Because of its significance as first-hand documentation of Navajo life during the Spanish contact period, the Rabal testimony is worthy of reproducing in its entirety. Hence, the remainder of this section is devoted to a reproduction of the complete document as it appeared in the 1940 *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*.

The Manuscript

"ORIGINAL DEPOSITIONS SENT TO THE SUPERIOR GOVERNMENT OF THE MOST EXCELLENT COUNTY OF FUENCLARA, VICEROY, GOVERNOR, AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THIS NEW SPAIN; bY SERGEANT-MAJOR DON JOACHIN CODALLOS Y RABAL, GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF NEW MEXICO IN CONFORMITY WITH THE ORDER OF HIS EXCELLENCE IN HIS DISPATCH OF OCTOBER 3, 1744.

UPON

THE CONVERSION OF THE PAGAN INDIANS OF THE PROVINCE OF NAVAJO TO THE BOSOM OF OUR HOLY MOTHER CHURCH.

DEPOSITION UNDER OATH OF WITNESS NO. 1 GIVEN BEFORE SERGEANT-MAJOR JOACHÍN CODALLOS Y RABAL, GOVERNOR AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE SAID KINGDOM AND THE WITNESSES JOSEPH ROMO DE VESA PHILIPE JACOVO DE UNANUE.

(FIRST WITNESS):

At the town of Santa Fe, on February 27, 1745, testifying under oath Antonio Montoia, a Spaniard, resident of the port of Santa Rosa de Lima [3] of this jurisdiction, farmer and herder of large and small stock, said:

He had entered the province of the Navajos on different times and occasions, twice from the Pueblo of Nemes (Jemez), which is composed of Christian Indians, distant about 30 leagues from the said province which lies to the west. All of which he knows from seeing it. He penetrated the country for three leagues and found a spring of fresh water not sufficient for irrigation but enough for the use of drinking by people and horses. That from that spring to the northern limits of the province it seemed to him a distance of 40 leagues, more or less. In it are found many mesas, mountains, and on them many rancherias populated by Navajos, who possess stocks and farms of corn of which much is planted, and beans and pumpkins, all seasonal crops, and that the natives occupy themselves in raising their stocks and cultivating their farms and they *weave some textiles,*[4] and *(dress in) some buckskin and (weave) baskets*[5]

from small shrubs (that) are called "lemitas"[6] with which they barter for other articles with the other Indians of this kingdom, and also with the Spaniards.

That at that time the Navajos had many horses and small stock (goats, sheep), and that the first time that the witness entered the province was in the time of Governor Marquis de la Peñuela (1707-1712) and said Indians were at war. And during the second expedition was in the time of Governor Don Juan Domingo de Bustamante (1722-1731) at which time they were peaceful, and that up to now they maintain themselves thus, and that it seems to him that this peace is forced upon them because they wish to shelter themselves behind the Spaniards because *they are frequently attacked by the Yutas (Ute) and Comanches who are their enemies.*[7] That according to the limited knowledge that he has of said Indians it seems to him that they are very fickle. That during the second expedition he saw about 600 Indians with whom he spoke, and many women and children, of which he does not know the number. Nor does he know the latitude of the province at the place where he entered it. That the third time he entered it was in the year of (17)43 with the object that a Christian Apache Indian (Jicarilla?) named Luis took the witness and many other persons and soldiers whom Governor Don Joachín Codallos allowed them to take as escort for the safety of the people, who were going to discover some mines because the Indian Luis had offered them that they would find great treasures, all of which proved false. This expedition was made through a spot on a river called Chama[8] where some Spaniards live. And that from there to the province in an air line there is a distance of 30 leagues, more or less, all unsettled up to the border of the province. In this unsettled country there are three rivers[9] with little water and three small springs also fresh; and that it is very poor soil because it is mountainous and that having penetrated some 10 leagues into the province in a northerly direction he saw no rivers except some water seepages of running water and also of rain water and that 10 leagues distant there is a large valley long and wide with good soil where they do most of their seasonal planting. That from this valley to the Rio Grande (San Juan River) [10] outside of the province of Navajo there is a distance of five leagues more or less, that this water is of no use to them to irrigate their lands; according to what the witness saw, he also says that among adult Indians, women and children he must have seen 400 inhabitants, all of them in their rancherias and *houses of stone and mud upon the mesa of the mountains*, living upon the crops of corn, beans, all of which are raised seasonally. That he also saw some horses, that there were not many, and a few small flocks of goats and sheep. And he says that he has heard tell that at the present time the province has between 3,000 and 4,000 Indians, old and young. That is all he knows and can say.

(SECOND WITNESS):

Santa Fe, February 27, 1745, before the governor of the kingdom, Blas Martin, a Spaniard, resident of Santa Cruz del Ojo Caliente, [11] *farmer and herder of large and small stocks. He said:*

That during the governorship of Don Juan Flores Mogollon (1712-1715) he entered the province of the Navajo through the town of Nemes (Jemez) which is at a distance of 25 leagues more or less. He saw a spring of water at the entrance of the province which runs about 50 paces, and that he penetrated about 15 leagues at which time the Indians were at war, that they retired far away, and that about 30 were captured, that all their cornfields were burned, and that he saw no more water than that of a seepage at a spot called "la peña tajada" (the

sheer rock), and that said water is running and that from it *some small vegetable farms are irrigated*, that they plant much corn seasonally as well as pumpkins and watermelons and that *they live on the tops of the mesas to guard themselves against the Comanches and the Yutas (Ute)*, and that they store their supplies underground, in places calleds cuescomates.[12] That from the spring Jur Tardy, found at the entrance of the province through which the witness entered, to the Rio Grande (San Juan River), there is a distance of some 30 leagues from west to south. And that they plant some corn and pumpkins along the banks of said river, that he saw it and that it seemed to him that there must be on the mesas more than 200 Christian Indians of this kingdom.

That the second time that he entered was also in the time of the same governor also in company by the place called "De la Piedra Alumbre,"[13] lying between north and west and about 20 leagues from this town, from which place to the entrance of the province there is about 20 leagues more or less: in which district there is a small lake which seemed to him to be of rain water. That in some of the valleys they found holes with rain water, that was dammed by the Indians by sand dikes. And from the lake they returned to this town by way of Nemes (Jemez), which is at a distance of some 20 leagues from the mentioned lake without seeing any rivers, nor other waters, and that the Indians had some sheep and goats. That the third time that he entered it was by way of the place called Chama, 11 leagues distant from this town, where some Spanish families live. That some residents of the kingdom and a squadron of soldiers went along to guard them, which were furnished by the Governor Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza (1739-1743), owing to the fact that a Christian Apache Indian named Luis assured them that in the province there were many veins of virgin silver, which proved false.

That they traveled northward with Luis. That they crossed the Rio Grande (San Juan River) 15 times from one bank to the other. That from that river they set out for the province of Navajo. That it was distant some four leagues in which district they only found rain water, with some valleys and mesas where they plant their corn, pumpkins, and watermelons. That the soil is very sterile and without any tree groves. And the witness says that is all he has seen of the province. *That the Indians live on mesas on the highest parts of them to guard against the Comanches and Yutas (Utes)* their enemies. That their small houses are of stones, clay, and mud. *That they weave some cloth of wool, basketry, and some leather (buckskin)* which they bring to sell (because they are at peace) to the Christian Indians of the realm. And that it is now many years since the Navajo Indians have done harm to the Christians of the realm. That he has heard tell that their province has 4,000 Indians between old and young more or less. That he knows no more.

(THIRD WITNESS):

At Santa Fe, February 27, 1745. Testimony of Antonio Martin, Spaniard, resident of Santa Cruz de Ojo Caliente, farmer and stockman, 50 years old. He said:

That he entered the Navajo province in the year (17) 43, with the residents of the realm and a squad of soldiers furnished by Governor Gaspar Domingo Mendoza to protect them, because a Christian Apache Indian named Luis had begged them to go to the province assuring them that there was much virgin silver in a mountain, that the Indian Luis went with them and having reached the spot where the silver was supposed to be they found not even a trace of it. That the entrance to the province was made by way to the place called Chama, 12 leagues from

this town where some Spanish families live. That from that place to the beginning of said province there is 40 leagues more or less, an unpopulated country wooded and with many mesas. That they found three rivers with little water in that district of 40 leagues, also a spring of running water, very bad and unfit for drink. That having penetrated the province for 15 leagues more or less they found some pools of rain water which the Navajo Indians impounded with sand banks to store it in order to drink it, who plant much corn, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons, all seasonal, and that *they live on the tops of the mesas* where they have their little houses of stones and clay. That they *are forced to live there by the Yutas (Ute) and Comanche nations who are their enemies.*

That he entered through the said place into the province which is to the west and they arrived at the Rio Grande (San Juan River), which is about 10 leagues from the province, so it seemed to him. *That they do not irrigate the lands* which were traveled over by the witness between the above province and the river, because it flows in a very deep box canyon. That he has heard tell that the province from north to south has a distance of 40 leagues between the inhabited houses and the uninhabited lands, without a single river by which to irrigate their lands. And that from east to west it may have been some 20 leagues. That it has seemed to him that the natives are untrustworthy in what they say, and that their being at peace with the Christians of the realm is because of its value to them because they are much persecuted by the Comanches and Yutas (Utes). That he saw in the province about 50 head of small stock close to a small ranch, that they weave some cloth, basketry. . .which they trade with the Christian Indians of this realm and they also bring some leather (buckskin) (to) sell for other goods. And that he saw about 300 Indians among men, women, and children. That he has heard it said that there may be about 2,000 Indians in the province, that he knows no more than what he has told.

(FOURTH WITNESS):

Santa Fe, March 1, 1745, testimony of Juan Tofoia, resident of Santa Cruz, [14]*, 8 leagues from this town, farmer and stock raiser of both large and small animals. He said:*

That during the month of September of 1743 he entered the Navajo province with some residents of this realm and an escort of soldiers furnished for their protection by Lt. Col. Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza (1739-1743). Because a Christian Apache Indian named Luis assured them that in said province there was a mountain of virgin silver, which was found untrue. And that there are 45 leagues from that spot to the valley where the witness lives, all uninhabited land with two medium-sized rivers and a small permanent lake of water, and also two small springs of fresh running water, which land is wooded with many mesas and valleys. That they penetrated about five leagues into the province in a westerly direction and from there northward in which distance of five leagues they found no river, but some ponds of rain water and valleys of farm land where seasonal crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons are planted. And those pagan Indians were cultivating the lands with wooden implements [15] and that *they live on the tops of the mesas gathered in their little houses of stones and mud. Which retreats they are obliged to defend from the Comanche and Yutas (Ute) Indians who are the ones who make war on them.*

And the witness says that the Navajo Indians gave the ones who entered a free passage and fine reception, and that he saw a group of about 140 men, women, and children more or

less, and that he also saw a small flock of sheep of some 150 head more or less and some tracks of cattle which he did not see. *And that the Navajo Indians make some cloth of wool and basketry.* That these along with some leather (buckskin) are used in their barter with the Christian Indians of the realm who give them other goods. And it has seemed to him that those Navajo Indians are very domestic (tame). And that it is 20 years more or less since they have made war upon the Christians of this realm. And he also says that the river which is called Grande (San Juan River) which is distant from that province about four leagues, and enters through that place, runs down, very boxed in, for which reason they are unable to irrigate the lands. And that in regard to the longitude and latitude of the province he is unable to tell because he did not travel over all of it. That he knows nothing else.

(FIFTH WITNESS):

Santa Fe, March 2, 1745. Testimony of Pedro Sanches, Spaniard, resident of Santa Cruz (12), 7 leagues distant from Santa Fe. He said:

That he was a farmer 50 years old. That during the month of September 1743, he entered the Navajo province with some residents and soldiers, owing to the story of a Christian Apache Indian named Luis who said that there was a mountain of virgin silver, which proved false. That from Santa Cruz to the Navajo province there is a distance of 40 leagues all uninhabited country, wooded and with many canyons, and two medium-sized rivers, and three ponds of rain water. That he penetrated the province westward for five leagues. That there is a large river outside the province four leagues. *That they do not irrigate the lands with this water* in that place because the rivers run *in box canyons.* And that those pagan Indians plant all their crops of beans, corn, pumpkins, and watermelons as seasonal. *That they live on the tops of the mesas in little houses of stone. And that the reason for their living in those mountains is because the Yutas (Utes) and Comanches make war upon them.* That he saw some small flocks of small stock and he also saw tracks of cattle although he saw none of the animals. That those *Indians weave some cloth and make basketry,* which they bring to sell to the Christians of the realm. That he saw about 200 Indians old and young, that they seemed to him to be very friendly Indians, and that they have been at peace now for many years. That he has heard it said that the province extends some 50 leagues from north to south. That he knows no more.

(SIXTH WITNESS):

Santa Fe, March 3, 1745. Testimony of Don Bernardo de Bustamante, native of Castile, resident of Santa Fe. He said:

That in the month of September 1743, he entered the Navajo province with an escort of soldiers with the consent of Lt. Col. Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza (1739-1743), governor of the realm. That it was the instance of a Christian Apache Indian named Luis who told them about a mountain of virgin silver, but it proved false. That it was at a distance of 80 leagues from Santa Fe. That they penetrated it between north and west about 30 leagues up to the place told them by the above Indian. That from the district of Santa Fe to the borders of the province where they entered they encountered five rivers, three of them with considerable water, and the two of small size. And that *in none of them could he see that any land was irrigated by them.* That

said land is wooded with some valleys and ponds of rain water. And that the said 30 leagues of the Navajo province are sandy and rough with many mesas and valleys, and that in the latter the pagan Indians plant their seasonal crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons. And that the largest of the five rivers is about 12 leagues distant from the province, and that the others are much farther away. *That these Indians live in ranches on the tops of the mesas in huts made of timber, stone, and mud. That they are forced to those retreats by the war made on them by the Yuta (Ute) and Comanche pagans.* That he saw about 500 Indians between men, women, and children, who seemed to him very docile, and that it is now about 20 years more or less that they have been at peace with the Christians of the realm, but that it seems to him it is for their own convenience and to free themselves from the said Comanches and Yutas (Utes). That the province beginning at the Castillejos which are to the west are 12 leagues distant from the town of Nemes (Jemez) up to 20 leagues from the town of Zuni between north and west. That he has heard tell that the province has a length of about 70 leagues. And that they do not have river water to till their lands. And that he has heard that in the province there may be about 4,000 Indians, men, women, and children, that it has a length of 40 leagues from north to south. That those Indians have some small stock and they wear woolen cloth and (make) basketry which they trade to the Indians of the realm. They also bring some leather (buckskin) which is all that he can say.

(SEVENTH WITNESS):

Santa Fe, March 3, 1745. Testimony of Don Manuel Saens de Garbisu, lieutenant of the company of the royal palace and presidio and native of the kingdom of Castile, resident of this town. He said:

That at the beginning of September of the year 1743 he left the town with a squad of soldiers and some residents of the realm with consent of Governor Mendoza (1739-1743) owing to the pleadings of a Christian Apache Indian named Luis who told that in the Navajo province there was a mountain of virgin silver, which proved false. That on leaving the town for the land of the pagan Indians they reached the Rio Grande (San Juan River), thus called by the Navajos. That in that province after entering some six leagues more or less from that spot they sent a friendly Indian from the town of Santa Clara (Pueblo) of this realm, who was along with the Spaniards, to enter the province of the Navajos with the purpose of getting supplies for all of us, and who returned after 3 days after leaving with 40 Navajo Indians with some supplies of tortillas and pumpkins, and that the following day in the afternoon they left the said place for the province which they entered from the north to the west about 30 leagues more or less, in which district they found no rivers but some little springs of not much water and ponds of rain water. He said that the land of these 30 leagues is one of many mesas and valleys up to the borders of the province. In which valleys they plant their seasonal crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons. And the *witness having climbed to the top of one of the mesas, he saw that those Indians have built their little houses in stories (courses) of stone, timber, and mud, and they dress in the same kind of clothes as the Christian Indians of the realm.* That he saw some small stock which are maintained on the mesas. That it seemed to him that he saw about 700 head of sheep. And that *the reason for their living on the tops of the mesas is to protect themselves from the Yutas (Utes) and pagan Taguaganas* [16] *who live close to them.* That since he has been in the realm some 9 years he has seen them at peace with the Christians.

That they weave woolen cloth and make much basketry which they come to trade to the Christian Indians. That he saw about 400 of those Navajo Indians large and small and that he has heard tell that there are from 3,000 to 4,000 of these Indians in the province. That it also seemed to him that those he saw were very gentle that they greeted the Spaniards well. That is all he knows.

(EIGHTH WITNESS):

Santa Fe, March 4, 1745. Testimony of Antonio de Vlibani, resident of this town, Alcalde, mayor and captain of war in it. He said:

That in *the year 1706* while Don Francisco Cuerbo y Valdes (1705-1707) was governor of this kingdom the witness entered the Navajo province with some civilians and soldiers to subdue said Indians who were at war. That the expedition was made by the Pueblo of San Lorenzo de los Pecuries (Picuris) of said realm which is at a distance from Santa Fe of 18 leagues. That they penetrated to a spot in the province called "Los Peñoles" which seemed to him to be in the center of it and at a distance of some 40 leagues from the pueblo where they entered from east to west. In which district there are no inhabitants and the land is all full of mesas and gullies of sandy and loose ground and that they found no rivers but some springs of running water and pools of rain water. That clear to the spot of "Los Peñoles" he saw about 200 Indians and that he does not doubt that *on the tops of the mesas where they have their houses of stone, timber, and mud there might be many more.* That he also saw some small flocks of sheep of which they were able to obtain about 50 head and then continued their journey through the province. They left it through the Pueblo of Cia (Zia), which is to the west, and that it seemed that the province had a length from east to west of about 70 leagues and a width of 30 leagues from north to south. That said province has no river that can irrigate the lands which they plant in seasonal crops. The witness says that in the month of October 1716, he entered a second time with the captain of the presidial company, Christobal de la Arna, with 40 soldiers and some civilians through the town of Nemes (Jemez) of this realm, 20 leagues distant from this town owing to the many raids made by said Indians upon the Christian Indians with whom they were at war. That from the Pueblo of Nemes (Jemez) to the border of the province where they entered there must be about 15 leagues of uninhabited land with many mesas and canyons, without rivers, with some small springs of running water and pools of fresh running water. And though during this occasion more than 400 men entered they never lacked water to drink. That they penetrated into the province about 20 leagues to a spot called "Los Peñolitos" where they had a battle with pagan Indians, that they killed six and took from them about 200 head of sheep. That he saw some Indians in flight over the mesas and that he returned through the same spot which they had entered. That in all the country of the province they raise much corn, beans, pumpkins and watermelons, all seasonal. And that since he has known them at peace which is 29 years they have done no harm to this realm. That they are the very tame Indians and peaceful, that they *make much woolen cloth of black wool,* and basketry, with which they trade with the Christian Indians of the realm. And he says that in the time of 43 years since he settled in this kingdom they have not lacked food except during 2 years because it did not rain as it happened all over the realm. [17] That is all he knows.

(NINTH WITNESS):

Santa Fe, March 4, 1745. Testimony of Juan José Moreno, native of the kingdom of Castile, resident of this town. He said:

That in the month of September 1743, he set out from this town with some citizens and an escort of soldiers by permission of Governor Mendoza at the pleading of a Christian Apache Indian named Luis who told them stories of a mountain of virgin silver which existed in the Navajo province, but which proved untrue. From this town they went to a place called Aviqui (Abiquiu) inhabited by Spaniards of this kingdom and 15 leagues from this town. From that place they went on a straight line due west to that province. That it took them 10 days to reach its borders. In which district they found six middle-sized rivers and some without fords because of their very boxed-in nature by numerous mesas, and they also found a tank of fresh rain water and all the country was uninhabited. That they penetrated the province about 25 leagues to the south more or less. In which country they found some small springs of running water with ponds of rain water and many valleys, in which the Indians plant corn, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons as seasonal crops. *The said Indians live on the tops of the mesas to protect themselves against the pagan Yutas (Utes) who make war on them, and their houses are of stone, wood, and mud.* That they saw about 250 Indians among men, women, and children. That they went out to meet said Spaniards. That they gave them a warm welcome. That he knows them to be very peaceful Indians and domestic (tame). That they took them (the Spaniards) to the rancherias and fed them with much affection. That in conversation with the Indians the Spaniards were asked by the former why they had gone to those places because they had never seen similar people. To which the reply was made that the Indian Luis was taking them to show them a mountain of virgin silver that he said was in that province or its vicinity. To which the pagan Indians replied that there was no such silver nor did they have any information that there was any. As in truth all that Luis had told them turned out false. And the witness says that according to the little knowledge he has of mines, in all the country that that he traveled in that province he saw no trace of minerals. That he left the province with the other people and two Navajo Indians who volunteered to show them the way out. That he also saw some small flocks of sheep in the province, also some horses that they have. That it is some 22 years that he knows that they have been at peace with those in this kingdom during which time they have made no raids. *That they weave woolen cloth and some of cotton (probably traded)* [18] and make baskets from small shrubs all of which they use to trade with the Spaniards and Indians of this realm for other articles which are given to them. That he has heard it said that the province has a length of 60 leagues from north to west and a width of 25 leagues more or less. That he has also heard it said that there must be about 3,000 Indians in that province among men, women, and children, more or less. That is all he knows.

(TENTH WITNESS):

Santa Fe. Testimony of Alfonzo Rael de Aguilar, resident of this town. He said:

That on three different occasions he has entered the Navajo province. The first was at the time of Governor Don Juan Flores (1712-1715). That they set out from this town with about 500 men between soldiers, civilians, and Indians. That they made the expedition into the

province through the Pueblo of Nemes (Jemez) in this kingdom about 24 leagues distant from this town. From which place all those people entered the Navajo province because those Indians were making war on those of this kingdom. That they penetrated said province about 30 leagues, in which territory he saw no rivers, only some seepages of rain water. That said country is all mesas and valleys in which the Indians plant their seasonal crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons. He said that they raise large crops of those products. That he saw about 150 Indians more or less. That they killed and captured some of them and that they took from them about 300 head of sheep. And that their ranches are composed of this kind of stock. *That said Indians live in the valleys when the Yutas (Utes) do not make war on them, and that when they are hard pressed in these places they live on the tops of the mesas where they have their dwellings.* That he left the country with the rest of the expedition through the place named La Piedra Alumbre some 18 leagues from this town. And that in the country he traversed in that province he saw no rivers, but he has only heard tell of a river, which they call Grande (San Juan River), near it. That said province must have a length from west to north some 70 leagues and width from east to south of some 40 leagues. And that it seems to him that the last two expeditions he made in the time of the same Governor Don Juan Flores Mogollon (1712-1715). That from that time to this he has known those Indians to be at peace. And that they have made no raids on the realm. On the other hand he has known them to be very docile and tame Indians and who have much affection for the Spaniards. That to the latter and to the Indians of the realm they sell them woolen cloth and basketry which they make in their province; they also bring some buckskins and that they barter all those for other things that are given them. That he knows no more.

(ELEVENTH WITNESS):

Santa Fe, March 4, 1745. Testimony of Juan Bigil, Spaniard, resident of this town. He said:

That at the time of the governorships of Don Juan Flores and Don Phelis (Feliz) Martinex (1712-1717) he entered the province of the Navajos with some citizens, soldiers, and Indians of the realm owing to the Navajos being at war. The first expedition being made through the place called "La Piedra Alumbre," that is 18 leagues from this town, from which place to the province there are 15 leagues of uninhabited country without a river but some water holes of rain water. That he penetrated that province almost 30 leagues to the westward. . . .Wooded country with many gullies without any rivers but with some pools of running water in which valleys the Indians plant corn, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons as seasonal crops, and that in most of the mesas there were many Indians dwelling. And that he saw some small flocks of sheep. *That said Indians live in the tops of the mesas in their small houses of timber, stone, and mud because the Yutas (Utes) make war on them.* That they came out through the same place that they entered. That he does not know that there is any river in said province except one called Rio Grande (San Juan River) at some distance from it. That from west to east it may be some 40 leagues and from north to south about 15. And that in all the province there may be some 4,000 Indians more or less among men, women, and children. That the second time he entered was through the town of Nemes (Jemez) which is to the west and that on this occasion they

penetrated the province about 40 leagues. Which country is wooded and with many canyons where they plant as has been told above. And that they killed and captured some Indians and sheep. And that the Navajos have some horses although only a few, that they are unable to feed them because of the war made upon (them) by the pagan Yutas. And that he and the rest left the province through the place which they had entered. He knows because he has seen that since the year 1722 they have been at peace with the inhabitants of the kingdom, and he holds them to be docile and domestic. *That the men dress in buckskins and the women in cloth of wool* which they make in their country, and also basketry which is brought to trade with the Christians of this realm. That all he has said is public and well known in this kingdom. He said he is 54 years old.

(TWELFTH WITNESS):

Santa Fe, March 6, 1745. Testimony of Antonio Tafoia, resident of this town and ensign of the royal presidio. He said:

That owing to the fact that the Navajo Indians were at war, he and some civilians, soldiers, and Indians to the number of 400 had entered on this expedition through the mountain called "De los Grullas" (the sandhill cranes) [19] to the north distant from this town some 30 leagues. That they penetrated it some 18 leagues more or less. In which distance they found a medium-sized river, and some small springs of running water and some pools. That it is all a land of mesas and canyons in which the Indians plant their corn, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons. That it seemed to him to be dry soil and sterile. *That they encountered some small ranches on the tops of the mesas.* That at different times he saw on the tops about 500 Indians between men, women, and children. That the Christian Indians of those of the expedition from this realm killed an Indian. And that said Navajos fled to the mountains. Whereupon all the members of the expedition returned to this town through the place known as "el cerro de los pedernales" [20] (the mountain of the flints) near the town of Aviquiu (Abiquiu), which is a Spanish town of this realm about two leagues distant from the former place. That the second time he entered the province was in the time of Governor Chacon (1707-1712) because the Indians were also at war. And on said occasion there were about 500 men among civilians, soldiers, and Indians, which expedition was made through the place called "La Piedra Alumbre," 18 leagues from this town, where they saw some 25 Navajos and following them they killed about 10 or 12 and the rest got away fleeing to the mountains. That they encountered two medium-sized rivers before reaching the province. That they penetrated it about 25 leagues. *That they have their habitations on the tops of the mountains to protect themselves from the pagan Yuta (Ute) Indians who war against them.* That he saw a small flock of sheep having heard it said that they have such stock in many parts of the province, that there may be in it some 4,000 Indians between men, women, and children. That its length is about 70 leagues west to north and about 30 from east to south. That it is about 30 years that he knows the Navajo to be at peace during which time they have not made a raid into this realm. That they are tame and quiet. That they came out of the province through the same spot they entered it. That those Indians and their women dress the same as those of this realm, and that they weave cloth of black wool and basketry, with which they come to trade with the Christian Indians for other things that the latter give them. And that the above is what he knows."

Evaluation of Historical Records and Their Significance for Dinétah

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Spanish explorers and later, missionaries or settlers actually encountered Navajo habitants of the Dinétah area. Early reports sometimes refer to journeys north and west of existing pueblos on the Rio Grande (in the general direction of Dinétah), and exchanges there with Navajos. On the other hand, none of these reports uses the name "Dinétah" as an area which they visited or with which they had contact.

There is again disagreement regarding the date when Navajos were first contacted by Spaniards. Hammond is of the opinion (and this author concurs) that the Querechos were Navajos, and that the term "Apache" in early Spanish references includes Navajos. If one accepts Hammond's account of Espejo's (1581-1583) reports, he first saw Navajos near Winslow, Arizona or in the scrape his soldiers had with certain "Querechos" near Acoma.

The chronicler Luxan notes that on Espejo's trip to Hopi they traveled east of the Colorado River and there observed: "Its shores are settled by warlike, mountain people." [21] Later they reached Mormon Lake where they declared: "This region is inhabited by mountain people, for it is a temperate land.... We found a rancheria belonging to a mountain people who abandoned it and fled from us, as we could see by their tracks." [22] Still later, near Acomita, Luxan reported:

> *The people of Acoma and the neighboring mountain people rebelled...kept shouting at us from the hills night and day... Half of our men with all the servants went to the rancheria and set fire to the shacks. We destroyed also a very fine field of corn belonging to the natives... On the afternoon of the following Sunday there were peace parleys between us and the Curechos.*

Espejo himself wrote the following account, referring to the Acoma area: [23]

> *The mountain dwellers, who are called Querechos, come down to serve the people in the towns (Pueblo), mingling and trading with them, bringing them salt, game such as deer, rabbits, and hares, dressed chamois skins, and other goods in exchange for cotton blankets and various articles accepted in payment.*

Zarate-Salmerón first mentions the Navajos by name in 1628. He was followed by Fray Alonzo Benavides in 1630 and 1634, who presents considerable information about them. Whether there may have been an earlier mention of the Navajos by Coronado or some other explorer prior to Espejo is less certain. Casteñado, writing 20 years after Coronado's 1540 expedition, mentions the "Querechos" as a group of Indians residing to the east of the Rio Grande.

It seems probable that Espejo *did* contact Navajos in the late 1500s, although not in the Dinétah area. The argument that the Navajos were not contacted until the seventeenth century -- like that for a late Navajo arrival date in the Southwest -- rests on negative evidence. No expedition reported seeing any Navajos; hence, this logic reasons, there were no Navajos in the region at this time.

This argument is too simplistic, and fails to consider the extent and nature of Spanish contact with native Southwestern populations at the time. Numerous Spanish encounters

with Indian peoples were violent ones that ended in bloodshed (as is illustrated in the Rabal testimonies and Hammond's account—/ It is not unreasonable to asume that the Spanish reputation for violence preceded individual parties of explorers, missionaries and settlers, and that Spanish offenses and atrocities were well known by all native peoples in the area. It makes perfect sense for these people, particularly if their subsistence base required a hunting-and-gathering, nomadic lifestyle with little investment in permanent settlements, to stay out of the depredating path of the Spaniards. [24] The fact that many early chroniclers failed to see Navajos means only that -- not that there were no Navajos to be seen. The lattter assumption is a mistaken one which many scholars delight in taking.

The Spanish historical accounts do, however, present evidence of Navajo occupation in the Southwest during the early 1600s. Most contemporary archaeologists, nonetheless, refuse to accept a Southwestern Navajo occupation at that time. Their reasons for this presumably lie in the relative lack of supportive archaeological data, yet several Navajo sites bear coterminous dates with those in the Spanish records. Wilson and Warren, for example, cite the earliest positively dated Navajo site as 1690. [25] Schaafsma [26] reports archaeological sites in the Chama River Valley dating to the 1600s, and buttresses his account with the historical records of Navajos living in the region at that time. Many archaeologists continue to demure and do not recognize the Chama Valley ruins as representing a Navajo occupation.

Despite this controversy, the Spanish data contained in Hammond's account and the Rabal document are revealing of the Navajos' territorial range at the time, and the interrelationships between various tribal and non-native groups in the Southwest. Implicit in these data is an estimate of the length of time the Navajos may have been in this region. The Spanish accounts describe the Navajos as traders, and as warlike. *Both activities require numbers.* The Navajos observed by Espejo, Zarate-Salmerón and others must have been in the region for many years to accumulate a population -- and a territorial range -- sufficient to carry on the activities of war and trade.

Although the Dinétah area and much of Navajo country lie north of the early Spanish routes, it seems clear that Navajos ("Querechos" or "Apaches") were at various times residents or visitors (as members of trade and/or raid parties) in areas crossed by Spanish expeditions. Much can be learned about early Navajo culture and social organization from the historical accounts presented by Hammond and the Rabal witnesses. By extrapolation, our knowledge of the Dinétah area and its Navajo inhabitants is also increased.

Dziłna'oodiłí, considered the "center mountain" of Navajoland.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHAPTER FOUR

Navajo Life In Dinétah According To Legends and Stories

THE PREVIOUS CHAPTERS HAVE dealt with a presentation of Navajo history -- its connection to, and implications for the Dinétah area -- from a chiefly non-Navajo viewpoint. But it is both interesting and informative to examine this history within the Navajo perspective, as it has been recorded in native myths and oral narratives. From such an analysis, a more complete picture of Navajo life in Dinétah emerges.

One very important record of Navajo oral history is contained in two volumes by Katherine Spencer. In *Reflection of Social Life in the Navaho Origin Myth,*[1] Spencer examines various aspects of Navajo culture portrayed in origin narratives, and compares those descriptions with ethnologic data. A later publication entitled *Mythology and Values: An Analysis of Navaho Chantway Myths,*[2] concerns the relation between myth-associated chants and value themes evidenced in daily Navajo life.

Spencer's material is used in this chapter with Washington Matthews' study of *Navaho Legends*[3] and contemporary accounts of Navajo individuals. Together, these mythological and oral historical narratives supply a picture of early Navajo behavior and social life. It is, of course, impossible to determine with specificity the period of time covered in myths. Nevertheless, mythological data describe a lifeway that was either brought into the Dinétah area, or practiced by the first inhabitants there.

One further note is required regarding the nature of Navajo myths and the subject of mythology in general. These terms are perhaps misnomers, for they convey the meaning that a myth is a kind of fairy tale which has little or no basis in fact. To the contrary, it is this writer's belief that myths and legends are the native equivalent of historical documentation, and that they provide an accurate cultural-historical record of early periods in Navajo history. (Spencer's publications clearly support the fundamental accuracy of oral narratives -- myths -- in describing prehistoric Navajo life.)

It is unfortunate that a so-called "pre-literate" people such as the Navajos, who have carefully recorded their history from generation to generation through the use of religious narratives, should have these accounts labeled inferior and unworthy of consideration for their historical accuracy. It is a tragic irony to dismiss this oral documentation in favor of written accounts which are very often biased and inaccurate because the writers have little experiential familiarity with their subject matter.[4]

Huerfano Mesa, showing elevation and major cultural areas.

92

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Description of Early Navajo Economy

Statements in the Navajo origin legends recorded by Spencer and Matthews refer to a subsistence base combining hunting, gathering and horticulture.[5] Domestic animals are not mentioned prominently in origin myths, although small and large game animals such as rabbits, prairie dogs, porcupines, deer, antelope and mountain sheep were apparently hunted. These provided the major clothing source, as Matthews notes in his *Navaho Legends:*[6]

> *They had as yet no horses, domestic sheep, or goats. They rarely succeeded in killing deer or Rocky Mountain sheep. When they secured deer it was sometimes by still-hunting them, sometimes by surrounding one and making it run till it was exhausted, and sometimes by driving them over precipices. When a man got two skins of these larger animals he made a garment of them by tying the forelegs together over his shoulders. The woman wore a garment consisting of two webs of woven cedar bark, one hanging in front and one behind; all wore sandals of yucca fiber or cedar bark. They had headdresses made of weasel-skins and rat-skins, with the tails hanging down behind. These headdresses were often ornamented with colored artificial horns, made out of wood, or with the horns of the female mountain sheep shaved thin. Their blankets were made of cedar bark, of yucca fibre, or of skins sewed together.*[7]

This description of early Navajo technology is provided by Matthews:[8]

> *Each house had, in front of the door, a long passageway, in which hung two curtains--one at the outer, the other at the inner end -- made usually of woven cedar bark. In winter they brought in plenty of wood at night, closed both curtains, and made the house warm before they went to sleep. Their bows were of plain wood thin; the Navahos had not yet learned to put animal fibre on the backs of the bows. Their arrows were mostly reeds tipped with wood, but some made wooden arrows.*

Turkey is frequently mentioned in the origin stories, and is linked with the beginning of agriculture. Turkey emerged with the people from the lower world; shaking out his wings, he spread corn and other seeds into the present world. With the advent of agriculture, according to Matthews, the Navajos began to extend their settlements:[9]

> *The bottom-land which they farmed was surrounded by high bluffs, and hemmed in up-stream and down-stream by jutting bluffs which came close to the river. After a time the tribe became too numerous for all to dwell and farm on the spot, so some went up in the bluffs to live and built stone storehouses in the cliffs, while others in the Tsinadzíní went below the lower promontory to make gardens. Later yet, some moved across the San Juan and raised crops on the other side of the stream.*

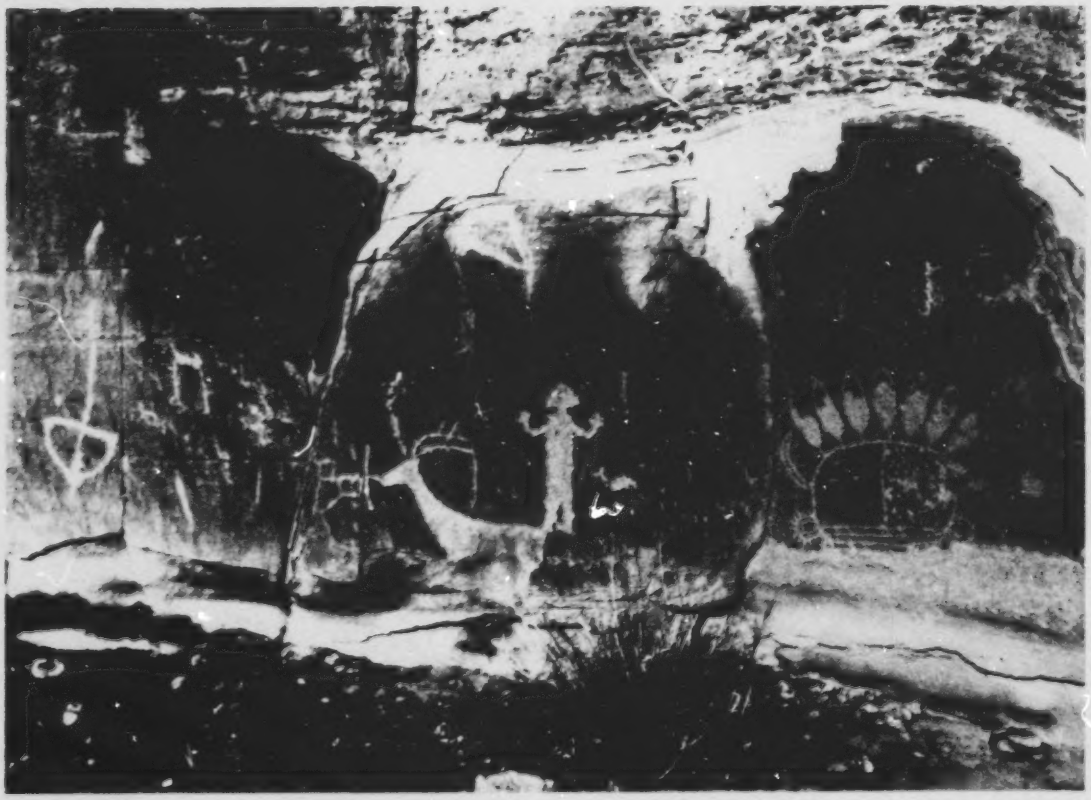
Wild vegetable products including seeds, grasses, fruits, cactus pears, roots and herbs, were gathered in addition to cultivated foods. The latter included corn, beans, squash, melons, pumpkins, gourds, tobacco and cotton.

A division of labor existed which prescribed that women gathered seeds and grasses while men engaged in hunting. Men also provided the primary manpower for farming. During

the separation of the sexes, men planted new fields which grew better each year, but women neglected those left to them, allowing the fields to become overgrown with weeds. Women were expected to keep house for the men, clean the camp and hogans, care for children, make clothing, prepare and cook the food, assist men in the fields, carry water, gather fuel (wood) for the fire, weave, and make pottery and baskets. Men were expected to clear the fields, plant the corn, hunt both small and large animals, and protect the family.

Chiefs and Councils

Various origin stories relate that activities concerning order within the group, measures for the welfare of the group, or relations with other groups were regulated by "chiefs," by councils of the people, or by a combination of both.[10] In the lower world there were four chiefs -- Wolf, Mountain Lion, Otter and Beaver -- who directed the lives of the people. In another place, the four directions had chiefs -- Water Monster, Blue Heron, Frog and White Mountain Thunder.



Panel showing a bow and arrow to the left, a deer with something protruding from its mouth, and a large masked figure with horns and earrings on the right.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Four chiefs initially dominated the present ("Glittering") world; occasionally one of these leaders assumed a prime role while other, younger chiefs were subordinate. Four chiefs were again recognized when Changing Woman selected them to lead the people from the western ocean to Dinétah, providing each with a cane of precious material.

Deer (?) figure standing above a tablito figure. On the right is a feather headdress figure (Crow Canyon).

Characteristic of a chief's functions were his morning talks to his people during which he exhorted them to rise early, perform tasks dutifully and behave according to ideal values. A chief sometimes summoned a council of the People to discuss a present need or danger. The chiefs looked after their constituents' welfare and served as a means of contact with strange groups.

BEST COPY AVAILABL

Intergroup Relations and Social Organization

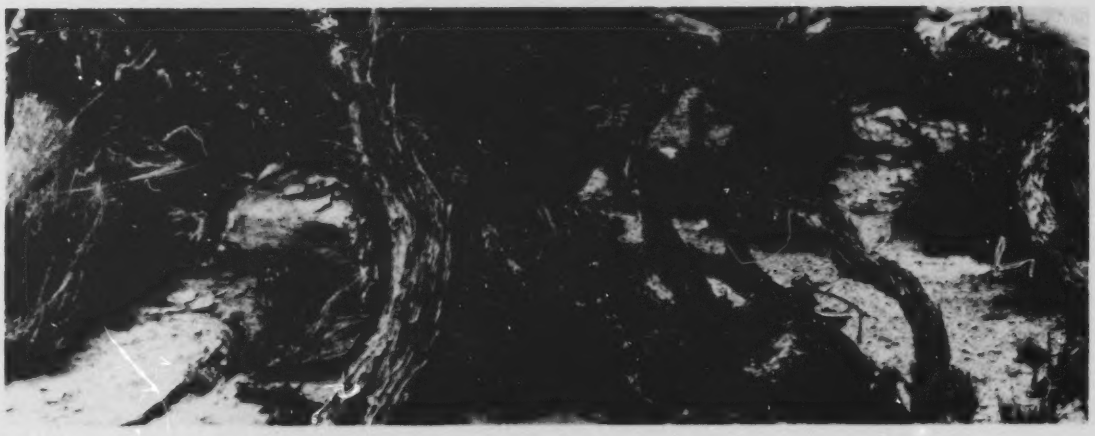
All people in the lower world, according to recorded oral narratives, spoke the same language. Only after their emergence into this world did people split into diverse language groups.

Puebloan people are mentioned throughout Navajo origin stories. They first appeared in the lower world where they lived with the Navajos; in fact, according to one origin myth, Puebloans joined Navajo males during the separation of the sexes (since the Pueblos emerged from the lower world with the Navajos). After the killing of monsters by Monster Slayer (*Naayéé' Neezghání*) and Child Born of Water (*Tó Bájíshchíní*), Navajos and Puebloans separated, the Navajos taking the best seeds and leaving the poorest for their former neighbors. Another account indicates that Changing Woman created Pueblo people and other strangers, and later sent them to a different place because they spoke their own language. Navajo oral narratives state that some of the Pueblo ruins were inhabited during this time.

The origin stories do not stress the matrilineal aspects of Navajo social organization so evident today. Spencer states: ". . . .in no part of the complete origin myth is matrilineal organization emphasized." The myths do mention marriage with strange and alien people and the formation of clans from the descendants of these individuals.

Summary of Mythological and Ethnological Data

The following table on pp. 87-88, adapted from Spencer's *Reflection of Social Life in the Navaho Origin Myth,* summarizes the areas of concurrence and disagreement between various origin myths and ethnologic data.[11]



Part of a wooden fence, located on top of *Dzilna'oodilii,* toward the south.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 3

Correspondences and Discrepancies Between Navajo Origin Myth and Ethnologic Data

Cultural Area	Correspondences Present In Origin Myth and In Ethnological Data	Discrepancies Present In Ethnological Data But Not In Myth	Present In Myth But Not In Ethnological Data
Economy	Three elements of economy are hunting-gathering, agriculture, domestic animals. In present day economy, second and third are predominant; in myth first and second are predominant with third mentioned but not functioning.		
	Weaving mentioned in myth but not an important part of economy.	Silverworking part of economy.	Cultivation of cotton.
	Division of labor by sex; men engage in hunting and warfare; women undertake household duties, some crafts.		Clan specialization in crafts. Women working in leather.
Property and Inheritance	Personal property individually owned.	Matrilineal emphasis in inheritance.	Clan ownership of land.
Courtship		Initiative taken by boy's family; mother's brother has important voice in deliberation of girl's family.	
Marriage	Incest prohibition includes siblings. Clansmen. Polygamy. Four-night taboo on intercourse after marriage.	Marriage as a contractual arrangement between two families. Marriage ceremony. Marriage preferences for spouses related in certain ways and clan preferences.	
Husband and Wife	Recognition of marital discord. Husbands responsible to wife's people for his treatment of her.		Women represented as principal offender in marital discord and infidelity. Mutilation as punishment for adultery.
Parents and Children	Mother has primary care; father has responsibilities, particularly in teaching.		
Siblings	Companionship of siblings of same sex with respect toward older.	Respect relationship between siblings of opposite sex with prohibition on contact.	Violation of prohibition on contact bewteen siblings of opposite sex and their half-sisters. Grandparents and Grandchildren.
Grandparents and Grandchildren	Use of grandparental terms to strangers. Joking relationship with paternal grandparents.		Maternal grandparental terms usually applied to strangers.
Mother's Brother		Special position of mother's brother typical of matriliny.	
Cross-Cousin		Joking relationship (coyote only symbol of this in myth).	
Affinal Relatives	Mother-in-law taboo.		Violation of mother-in-law taboo.
Kinship	Desire to trace or establish kinship bond with strangers. Clan terminology used primarily.	"Archaic" family terminology (some of these not found in myth).	Double kinship terms used in address.

97

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TABLE 3 (continued)

Cultural Area	Correspondences Present In Origin Myth and In Ethnological Data	Discrepancies Present In Ethnological Data But Not In Myth	Present In Myth But Not In Ethnological Data
Birth	Procedures at birth. Pollen and water used in place of mother's milk.		"Medicine men" acting as accoucheurs.
Childhood and Puberty	Training of boys by racing, playing with weapons, etc. Girl's puberty ceremony.	Ceremonial initiation for boys and girls.	
Clan and Clan Group	Clan and clan group exogamy. Some interchangeability of clans within clan group. Clan pets.	Matrilineal clan descent. Clan marriage preferences. Clan functions in social control.	Certain clans of more importance than others. Clan specialization in crafts. Clan lands. Clan chief. Subdivisions within clans.
Chiefs and Councils	Activities of chief or peace leader in direct work, dealing with disputes, representing group in external affairs. Ceremony at induction of headman. *Naachid* primarily a ceremony rather than a political gathering.	Distinction between war and peace leaders.	
Warfare	Raid and reprisal, organized on local, not tribal basis. Use of ritual. Taking of trophies.	Use of horse in warfare.	
Peaceful Intergroup Relations	Marriage with aliens. Visiting. Specific attitudes toward aliens, *e.g.*, disdain for Paiutes, respect for Pueblos.	Trade. Visiting at ceremonies.	Consciousness of differences in language, appearance, and customs emphasized. Acceptance by in-group indicated by use of kinship terms.
Games and Gambling	Gambling a favorite pastime for women as well as for men.	Games showing white influence such as card games, horse racing, wrestling, chicken pull.	Following games: *Atsá' dilkǫ́n*, thirteen chips, push on the wood, measuring worm, water basket guessing game, children's game in cornfield.
Slaves	Presence of slavery. Captive children made slaves.		Slaves won by gambling.
Transvestite	Activities overlapping those of both men and women.	Reputation for wealth. Present-day tendency to ridicule *nadle*.	
Sexual Practices			Attitudes toward sexual abuses.
Naming	Naming practices not entirely clear but use of descriptive names, teknonymy, and war names.		
Food and Animal Taboos	Taboo on eating fish and aquatic birds. Avoidance of bear and snake.		
Witchcraft	Belief in and fear of witchcraft (some present-day beliefs and practices occur in myth).	Some modern beliefs and practices do not occur in myth.	Witchcraft used by parents against own children.
Death	Fear of the dead. Destruction of property and destruction of dwelling. Some beliefs regarding afterlife, *e.g.*, return to emergence hole.	Some beliefs regarding afterlife, *e.g.*, afterworld at bottom of cliff.	Belief regarding origin of death from daily demands of a life by sun and moon. Tests for death by floating wood and moccasin game.
Dreams	Distinguish good and bad dreams; bad dreams need ritual treatment. Dreams considered as portents.		

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Spencer's study of value elements in Navajo Chantway myths reveals a number of constant and prominent focii in traditional Navajo life. These are listed below.[12]

Health and Happiness.[13] Health is represented in myths as desirable and the restoration to good health is a primary objective of ceremonies. Both illness and injury are inflicted as punishment in keeping with the warning that punishment would take these forms.

Subsistence.[14] Warnings are again given that punishment will take the form of drought or crop failure, as well as failure of the game supply.

Ritual Knowledge and Power.[15] Knowledge and property provide access to supernatural power. Ritual power thus obtained provides the means of maintaining health. Myths include the warning that violation of ritual rules will bring punishment, with offerings required for access to ritual power.

Property.[16] The same rules apply which are stipulated under "Ritual Knowledge and Power." In addition, there is a stipulation that payment is necessary for sexual rights, and property is required as a marriage payment. Finally, poverty brings shame, ridicule and exploitation.

Family Relations.[17] Harmony in family relations is represented as desirable. There are sanctions against improper behavior between specific categories of kin: a brother-sister incest taboo and a mother-in-law avoidance rule. Positive families ties, including respect and esteem between brother and sister, are also represented.

Sex and Marriage.[18] There is justification for sororal polygyny, but offending women in adultery cases are punished by mutilation. A woman's unacceptable marriage choice brings punishment; all aberrant marriages cause shame.

Self-Assertion and Responsibility.[19] The young mythological hero's assertion of independence is a means to attain adult status; by this process he is transformed into a responsible member of society. Irresponsibility is disapproved and punished.

Companionship and Loneliness.[20] There is ambivalence between the desire for companionship and distrust of strangers. Hospitality is extended to strangers, but usually with reluctance.

Aggression.[21] There is a recognition of the existence of aggression in human affairs. Trickery and deceit often occur. War occurs in myths, but is disapproved by the Holy People. Witchcraft is punished.

Stories of Sacred Origin Sites in Dinétah

The accounts of native informants extend our knowledge of life in Dinétah beyond that provided by Spencer's analysis. Many of these accounts mention a number of sacred, original habitation sites in Dinétah. One would expect these sites to play a major role in Navajo stories and legends since this is the Navajos' homeland, and the frequency with which sites are

named serves to highlight the area's cultural significance. Among the sacred places are Huerfano Mesa *(Dziłna'oodiłii)*, Gobernador Knob *(Ch'óol'ʃ'ʃ)*, La Plata Mountains *(Dibé Nitsaa)*, Blanca Peak (*Sisnaajiní*), Hosta Butte (*Ak'idahnást'ání*), Mount Taylor (*Tsoodził*), Towered House (*Kinyaa'áanii*), River Junction (Pine and San Juan; *Tó'aheedii*), Shiprock (*Tsé Bit'a'í*), and Wide Belt Mesa (*Sisnáát'eeł*). The stories which follow of these and other sites, provide insight not only into the culture history of Dinétah, but also the *cultural meaning* of this area and its sites for Navajos living today.

Navajo narratives of Dinétah are varied, but all report on the holy and sacred nature of the region. A Navajo man living near Huerfano Mesa compares Dinétah to the Christian Holy Land. Although this individual did not want his name published, he was willing to have his story told anonymously.

> *Most Navajos know very little about the Dinétah country. This is in spite of certain sacred mountains within the area which medicine men frequently visit even today (Dziłna'oodiłii, Ch'óol'ʃ'ʃ). The reason probably lies in (the fact that) most Navajos have have never been in the region and there are no recent stories circulating about the reservation, as there are regarding other better known places.*
>
> *It (Dinétah) needs to be preserved. In the infrequent visits I have made to the region, there have been noticeable additional evidences of vandalism. People do not realize they are walking on sacred ground where the very beginning of the Navajo people took place long, long ago.*
>
> *It is a place which needs to be protected for future generations of Navajos. Hopefully they will be more interested and informed concerning the area.*

Another account discusses Huerfano Mesa as the location of First Man's and First Woman's original home. The remains of this original hogan are still to be seen on top of the mesa. It was from here that First Man saw the cloud (mist) which descended over Gobernador Knob lying to the east. He and other Holy People investigated this cloud and there, discovered the infant who grew to be known as Changing Woman.

On this same mesa (Huerfano), Changing Woman grew up, experienced her first *Kinaaldá* (puberty ceremony), and raised twin sons, Monster Slayer and Child Born of Water. The Twins left Huerfano Mesa to visit their father, Sun, and departed again to kill various monsters. Few places are as sacred or significant in Navajo stories as Huerfano Mesa.

> *I already mentioned Gobernador Knob, which is to the east. This is the location where First Man found the baby who became Changing Woman.*
>
> *There are deer on top of Dziłná'oodiłii. These are herded even today by First Man. It used to be that medicine men would visit the mesa. You are supposed to only think good thoughts while up on the mesa. I don't think as many medicine men visit the mesa as used to. It is a very sacred spot to the Navajos.*
>
> *There are also holes in the rock (pot holes) which is located on top of the mesa. They washed Changing Woman (there) before she went to live with her husband the Sun, in the western ocean. Water from these places is collected when there are droughts*

and little rain.

In the many canyons in Dinétah there are examples of rock art which the Navajos made. I believe they were told by the Holy People, who lived with or near the Navajos in Dinétah to make drawings about the masks and other features of ceremonials. When the Navajos left the Dinétah area they were told not to reproduce any permanent form of a mask or figure. But the Dinétah area is full of carvings in stone as well as colored paintings of many figures, just the same as are used today in our sandpaintings.

Dzilna'oodilii. View from on top of the mesa, looking toward the location of the first hogan, which is situated to the left of the high rock in the right background.

I know certain Christians, one of whom went to visit the Holy Land. He brought back photographs and he was very excited. He told me he walked where Jesus walked.

I believe it is important not only for Christians to be able to visit the Holy Land, but also for Navajos to visit the Dinétah area. There are remains of hogans and houses the Navjos lived in long ago. In the Claims Case, there was a slight interest in

BEST COPY AVAILABL

Dinétah. I remember a white man (Van Valkenburgh?) was active in collecting things for the Navajo story.

No one at Window Rock cares about Dinétah. I doubt if anyone has been there. It's too bad to have a place as sacred to the Navajos and as close to them as is Dinétah -- and not have them know about it or try to preserve it.

When I went to Dinétah there were roads running everywhere, going to each gas well. It no longer is hard to get into the most remost section of Dinétah. There will be a road nearby.

The sacred mountains that are found in this world were brought from the underworld. There were six sacred mountains which existed in the lower world and which were recreated when they (Navajos) came into the present (Glittering) world.

We consider Dziłna'oodiłii represents the center of the known world. We have a sacred mountain to the east (Blanca Peak), one to the south (Mount Taylor), one to the west (San Francisco Peaks), and one to the north (La Plata Mountains). The sacred mountain to the center is Huerfano Mesa.

Ch'ool'ff. View from below and to the west. This is the place where Changing Woman was found as an infant.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Dinétah is our home. It is a place where we began and became strong. It is a sacred and holy place. It is a place that every Navajo ought to know about, its history and its stories; whether they all go there or not is not as important as for all Navajos to know that near the present reservation is the place where the Navajos and Holy People lived together -- just as Christians all know about the Holy Land as a place where Jesus walked and taught. Some are fortunate and get to go there but many others know only about the Holy Land from pictures. So it should be with the Navajos. All should know where it is and what happened there. Some may be fortunate in actually visiting the place. It is a very holy place for the Navajos.

Ashihie, a prominent medicine man from Round Rock, relates the following story of Dinétah:

The Dinétah region is very sacred and very holy to the Navajo people. It is where the Holy People lived with and came and taught (helped) the Navajos. I have never been there. I have only heard many stories told about the area. The stories were mainly told to me by Raggedy Lady, who was my grandmother. I grew up with her and she told me about Dinétah.

It is a place where the Holy People told the Navajos to paint and carve into the rocks and canyon walls the various Holy People such as Humpedback God, Talking God and many others. It is the place where medicine men are supposed to go and check to see the proper way to make the masks and other ceremonial items the Holy People taught the Navajos to use.

It is like a church -- a very holy place.

Sam James, a long-time resident and medicine man from Round Rock, provides these details on the import of Dinétah in Navajo origin stories:

Dinétah is the location where the Navajos came together. There were four clans that Changing Woman formed by rubbing skin from various parts of her body. These four clans were made by Changing Woman at her home in the western ocean after she had left Dinétah and went to live with her husband the Sun in a beautiful turquoise, abalone, jet and white shell home.

It must be remembered that Changing Woman was born and reared in the Dinétah region. She was reared on top of Huerfano Mesa. She had her two sons (Twins) who also were reared on top of Huerfano Mesa. It was on top of that mesa that the Giant came looking for the boys whose footprints he saw around the hogan. Later, after the boys had grown they would go and kill the Giant and other Monsters.

Getting back to the four clans that were formed by Changing Woman at her home in the west; they were given four canes (magic wands) and four animals as guardians to go with them on the long and dangerous journey back to Dinétah.

When Changing Woman left Dinétah to go to the western ocean to live, she left Navajos living in the Dinétah region. In other words, when the four western clans

finally got to Dinétah they met up with other Navajos who were still living in the region. The two groups of people met and found out they spoke the same language and were the same people. They were very happy to be united and together again. It was a wonderful experience, to have two groups of Navajos come together in Dinétah.

We know there are also people who speak the same language (Athapaskan speakers) who live to the north. It is in our stories and traditions. Anthropologists tell us there are people who speak our language who live along the Pacific Ocean and there are other people who speak our language who live far to the north. This is exactly what our stories tell us, and we believe our stories!

It was while we lived in Dinétah that we became much stronger. Not only did we receive the four original clans from Changing Woman, we received many other clans. The Navajos made new clans from the various people we happened to meet and sometimes capture. These (new clans) became very important to us. All of this took place in Dinétah -- the formation of the new clans.

I believe it is important for more Navajos to learn about Dinétah. When you ask most Navajos about Dinétah they can tell you very little except that it is a holy place. Unless we can know the location, where it is and the stories that go with it, we will have lost a vital part of our history and traditions.

Dinétah is not some place that exists only in our stories, some place that no one has seen. Dinétah is a place, a beautiful place, where the Navajos lived and where much of the relationship between the Navajos and the Holy People took place. It isn't too far away. It is a place which has canyons and rocks and bushes and plants and trees. It is a place where our stories began. All Navajos need to know about Dinétah.

I used to be on the Tribal Council and I remember the Councilman from the area tell me stories about Dinétah. I visited the area with him several times. The Tribe presently has to choose some land to replace the land lost to the Hopis in their land dispute. I think it would make sense to ask for the Dinétah area. I believe they can pick only so many acres in New Mexico but they sure should pick the Dinétah region. The Dinétah area belongs to the Navajo people!

Billy Sam, a medicine man from Many Farms, says of Dinétah:

Dinétah is a very Holy place for the Navajos. Many of our early stories took place in that region. One of our most sacred mountains is Huerfano Mesa. This was the location of First Man and First Woman's hogan after they came into the area from the place of emergence in the La Plata Mountains. It was from here (Huerfano Mesa) that First Man saw the cloud set on Gobernador Peak. After four days First Man and First Woman went on top and found Changing Woman who was a small baby. They brought her home and with the help of other Holy People, they raised her. Years were only days so that in less than twelve days they held Kinaaldá for Changing Woman.

Near the edge of the mesa there is a spring where the Sun came to Changing Woman

Dził na'oodiłii. Thomas Wheeler, field researcher, sits by a pothole where Monster Slayer and Child Born of Water had their baths as babies.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

and gave her two boys (the Hero Twins). The boys grew up and explored about the mesa. One day they found Spider Woman at home and they descended, where they were given prayers with which to enable them to go safely to see their father the Sun. When they had finished their visit to their father, they were allowed to return to their home at Huerfano Mesa, where their mother (Changing Woman) still lived.

The Navajo Tribe tried in the 1960's to get those parts of the Huerfano Mesa that didn't have radio towers set aside and protected. I don't believe they were successful. On top of the mesa there is a race track which one of the Holy People used to practice on. They say the hogan of First Man and First Woman is also on the mesa.

In the canyons of Dinétah there are many examples of Navajo art which the Holy People used to show the Navajos how to make the masks and other objects. There is one other place east of Round Rock where this was also done. As far as I know these are the only two places where the Navajos have the various Holy People done in the proper way -- the way the Navajos are supposed to remember. In all other cases, the Navajos are supposed to destroy the image of the Holy People (sandpaintings) before the sun sets. Nothing is to be placed in permanent form.

I have always stood for education. I believe we must learn to use English. But I strongly feel the schools should begin to teach about Dinétah also. I believe the schools should teach Navajo culture and history to Navajo students. I believe it is necessary for the schools to teach about Dinétah. White people have their Holy Land which they learn about. Navajos have Dinétah which we should learn about.

View from a fortified mesa situated on the south side of Crow Canyon. All the rock art located at the canyon entrance appears on rock walls to the center of this illustration, along the canyon floor.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Significance of Navajo Homeland for the Future

Dinétah's significance does not lie only with its past as a cultural and historical center. This region, so important in Navajo origin stories, has a potentially crucial role to play in the tribe's future as well. Ruth Roessel, a leading Navajo scholar and specialist in Navajo Culture Studies, makes the following observations on Dinétah's present and future significance:

I think it is too bad that the Navajo people know so very little about Dinétah. Today there is an awakening on the part of most Navajos in terms of learning about their roots, their heritage and their culture. I believe in the face of such extraordinary interest in Navajo traditions that the Navajo people will be eager to learn about the holy place where so many of our early stories took place. I also believe that the Navajo people will be eager and anxious to again own the land.

(In Dinétah), there are today many thousands of gas wells that produced in 1979, billions of cubic feet of gas. It has been estimated that the gas field that encompasses Dinétah will be exhausted by the year 2000 A.D. or soon thereafter. It would seem that the Navajo people could obtain the surface use of all the land that is held by the federal government, and after the gas and oil field is exhausted, could obtain full ownership to all the land.

This request for the federal, primarily BLM (Bureau of Land Management) land will take time. There are Anglo ranchers who have grazing permits to accompany their very limited deeded land held within Dinétah. Yet, surely the Navajo Tribal Council, which has the opportunity to request over 250,000 acres of federal land to compensate the tribe for the land lost to the Hopi, would rather have the most sacred and significant land rather than any land. Why aren't the tribal leaders actively campaigning for the return of the Dinétah land?

The return of our original land is a must in my consideration! I would be happy to take the Tribal Council on a several-day tour of Dinétah so they could see for themselves the priceless importance of this land.

I married a non-Navajo who has often told me about the land where Jesus walked and did his miracles. His aunt and uncle visited the Holy Land. They saw the Sea of Galilee where Jesus walked on the water. They saw Gethsemane where Jesus went to pray before he was crucified. They saw the place where Jesus was crucified. It meant very much to them and to all the millions of Christians who have visited the Holy Land. It is a place not only where one can feel close to Jesus and God, but also a place for rededication and renewal.

There were wars fought for hundreds of years over this land. The Crusades had as their major objective the freeing of the Holy Land so Christian pilgrims could freely visit the place.

To me Dinétah is the Navajos' Holy Land, just as important and just as vital to the Navajos --their past, present, and future.

To most Navajos Dinétah is some land that is far away, unreachable if not unknown. Yet it lies only a few miles to the east of their current reservation.

Until the reawakening of the Navajos to their culture and history that began with the establishment of Navajo Community College, only a few Navajos knew about Dinétah. There are Navajos living in Blanco Canyon -- actually a part of Dinétah -- who don't realize a thing about the history and significance of the area to Navajos.

Today the climate is ripe and right for all Navajos to learn once again about Dinétah. Many Navajos know some of the early stories; only a few of them realize the very land on which these Holy People walked and talked is so close and so real. The Navajos will never obtain ownership of the four directional mountains -- not Blanco Peak, not Mount Taylor, not San Francisco Mountain, not La Plata Mountain. However, the Navajos could obtain their other two sacred mountains -- Dzilna'oodilii and Ch'ool'i'i.

Navajos may disagree on many items: politics, religion, social programs, taxation, and so forth. But Navajos should be able to agree on fighting to obtain title to Dinétah, and on its importance to all Navajos.

Dzilna'oodilii. View from the top of the mesa, looking south. Photograph shows microwave towers and a road going to the top.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Ghąą ask'idii figure on a rock wall in Crow Canyon.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHAPTER FIVE

Entry of the Navajos Into the Southwest

DINÉTAH, BECAUSE OF ITS significance as the original Navajo homeland in the Southwest, raises questions regarding the time of Navajo arrival in the region. In discussing Dinétah these questions have been addressed, directly and indirectly, throughout this book. This chapter synthesizes the data on Dinétah and the time of its occupation by Navajos. Based on this data, an arrival date of 1300 or earlier is posited.

Washington Matthews, using the Navajos' own story of their origin, postulates the inception of certain Navajo clans at approximately 1300 A.D. He states: [1]

> *Today (A.D. 1884) seven times old age has killed since this pair was made by the holy ones from the ears of corn. The next old man who dies will make the eighth time.*

In explaining the meaning of this Navajo story, Matthews suggests that 102 years equals one "old age." "This Indian estimate would give, for the existence of the nuclear gens (clans) of the Navaho nation, a period of from five hundred to seven hundred years," he says.[2] Thus, considering the year in which Matthews wrote, a period between 1184 to 1384 can be projected as the time in which the original, nuclear Navajo clans were created. Although Matthews quite properly points out that these early dates pertain to the origin of nuclear clans and not necessarily to that of the Navajos in the Southwest, it is significant that his figures are consistent with an arrival date of 1300 A.D. or earlier.

Matthews' 700-year figure is supported by other mythological and archaeological data. Navajo myths clearly state that the Chaco Canyon ruins were inhabited by Puebloans who had as their neighbors, poor and beggarly Navajos.[3] Bannister lists the latest dates for occupation of these ruins as 1123 to 1124 A.D.,[4] but Vivian and Matthews state that, "While the Chaco area may not have been entirely abandoned about A.D. 1200, the population was greatly reduced."[5] These researchers continue:[6]

> *Sometime in the later part of the thirteenth century there was a movement into the canyon of people using classic Mesa Verde pottery of the Montezuma Phase.... The impression is gained that after about A.D. 1300 the Chaco Basin was largely abandoned.*

This "impression" is misleading, and distracts from a key question: were Navajos living in the canyon at the time of its alleged abandonment by Puebloans? For the archaeological

109 B

record to match Navajo mythological accounts, the Navajos must have been in the Chaco area before 1300 A.D. Correll's five Navajo tree-ring dates from this time period make this a very real possibility.[7] The 1350vv date for a supposed Navajo site at Chacra Mesa (CM-35), adjacent to Chaco Canyon, further supports a Navajo occupation in Chaco Canyon coterminous with mythological dates.

These dates fit with those proposed by some scholars for the migration of Navajo-Athapaskans into the Plains and later, the Southwest. C.M. Aikens, in his study of *Fremont-Promontary-Plains Relationships,* states that:[8]

> *The proto Fremont people were of Northwestern Plains origin, probably Athapascans. They moved southward and westward into Utah at approximately A.D. 500, possibly under pressure from Plains Woodland expansion into the Plains from the east.*

While it is not this author's intention to accept the claim of an Athapaskan migration via the Great Basin, Rocky Mountains, or Plains, the research of Aikens and others provides further documentation of the *early* date at which Athapaskans entered the Southwest region.

J.L. Haskell notes another study in which "the writer espoused a view which sees Athapaskans as having filtered into the Gobernador area as early as the ninth century A.D."[9] Jack Forbes, whose historical research reinforces Haskell's and Aikens' accounts, contends that Navajo-Athapaskans were in partial occupation of New Mexico prior to the extensive Pueblo movements of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[10] Forbes states, "There are thus good reasons for holding that the Athapaskans were in central New Mexico in the 1200s or 1300s."[11] Worcester, in his *Early History of the Navaho Indians,* adds that, "(T)here are a number of factors which may link the Navahos with some of the pre-Pueblo groups in the Southwest in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries."[12] He continues:[13]

> *How early they* (Navajos) *came into their present territory has yet to be determined exactly, but recently investigations of archaeologists have pushed the date back to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.*

Hence, there exists a substantial body of literature which complements Navajo oral accounts in supporting a theory of Navajo-Athapaskan migration into the Southwest as early as 1100 to 1300 A.D. Indeed, such a theory ties together many of the "loose ends" in the written historical and archaeological record. While some of these remaining questions are due to a lack of empirical evidence for early Navajo sites, the theory that more such sites exist and have yet to be uncovered is actually more parsimonious than one which discounts their existence altogether. Dawson recognizes this when he states:[14]

> *There is no evidence which would show that the Apache (including Navajos) were not in this country by the 1100s or 1200s. There is, on the other hand, no positive evidence to support their presence. Nevertheless, such a movement is not only possible, it is one of the few which can answer all the problems raised by the abandonment of the region, and by the appearance of fortified sites, first in the mountains and later in the plateau country to the north.*

There is, moreover, substantial support in culture theory for the relative antiquity of Navajo occupation in the Southwest. Much of the cultural knowledge we have of early Navajo life in the region is in the form of rock art and other religious-symbolic representations in the canyons of Dinétah. It is in these canyons, with their pueblitos and other masonry rock-made houses, that many archaeologists believe the Navajos learned, within one to three generations, the arts of weaving and pottery-making, and the Puebloan religious practices which include masked figures, sandpaintings and elaborate ritual. Many of these same anthropologists tell us, however, that cultural change occurs most slowly in religious practices and beliefs about the supernatural. Is it possible, as these theorists suggest, that the Navajos learned and adopted a Pueblo-type religious system in a period of approximately 50 years? This is the time period in which the first Pueblo refugees began to live permanently among the Navajos (c. 1694) until the time the Navajos left the area (c. 1750 A.D.).

The dubious nature of this claim becomes apparent when one examines common religious practices among the Navajos historically. One of the elements which characterizes the Navajos is their steadfast religious system. The Blessing Way ceremony is the backbone of Navajo religion; all other ceremonies stem from or relate to this ceremony. This important ceremony has changed very little from its inception some 200 years ago. Similarly, the Navajo Night Chant and Mountain Top Chant have changed little over the past 100 years. In sum, the heart and core of Navajo religion have undergone few changes since the first Navajo scholars (*e.g.*, Washington Matthews, Father Berard Haile) reported their observations of these rituals in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Multi-storied fortified pueblito in the Dinétah area.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Other aspects of Navajo culture (agriculture, sheep herding, wage work) are geared to adopt and adapt foreign elements into accepted Navajo lifestyles. New religious organizations such as the Native American Church have also been incorporated into the traditional religious system. These have not, however, *replaced* the traditional system based on the Blessing Way, related stories and native history. Most members of the Native American Church still participate in traditional religious practices. The anthropologist Edward Hall notes this basic cultural consistency, and states that although the Navajos are "flexible in their acceptance. . .of new culture items," they have maintained their cultural integrity and "could have occupied the Southwest for the past 900 years." [15]

Given the steadfast nature of Navajo religious practices and the typically slow nature of culture change (particularly changes in religious behavior), it is unlikely that the Navajos learned and incorporated a Pueblo-type religious system in the short span of 50 years. The development of the Navajo religious system is clearly a more complex process - one which minimally demands a longer period of time in which Navajos and Pueblos were in contact.

Both Spanish accounts and much of the archaeological record corroborate the case for a longer contact period. The Spanish chronicler Luxan reports seeing Indian peoples who were like Navajos, in contact with Puebloans as early as 1583. On a later expedition near Acomita, Luxan reports seeing Acomas in contact with a "neighboring mountain people" whom he terms "Querechos." [16] As was pointed out in Chapter Three, the Querechos were very likely the ancestors of modern Navajos.

It seems clear, then, that the Navajos were in the Southwest for a period sufficient to develop the complex religious system which may have borrowed certain elements from Puebloan cultures. Further, some scholars posit that the Navajos *did not* borrow as much of their religious system from the Pueblos as has been commonly assumed, and that the development of Navajo ritual occurred indigenously over several centuries. W.W. Hill outlines this view: [17]

> *It has been the popular conception that the whole of Navaho culture forms an attenuated adjunct to that of the Pueblos. I believe that this assumption is false, so far as material existence and its ritual accompaniments are concerned, and is based on superficial similarities.*

Using this theory, a much earlier date for Navajo entry into the Southwest is quite feasible. Hill implies such an early arrival date when he writes: [18]

> *It appears that the material and economic culture of the Navaho is fundamentally that of the Great Basin, but shows a definite influence from Plains culture in some past time. Upon this fundamental Great Basin culture generalized Pueblo traits form a superficial layer.*

Other scientific evidence strengthens the theory of a relatively early Navajo arrival date in the Southwest. In Volume I of *Through White Man's Eyes*, Correll lists 78 tree-ring dates of 1700 and earlier from Navajo archaeological structures. Of these 78, over 50 per cent date from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. The work of C. Schaafsma in the Piedra Lumbre section of the Chama River Valley is also illustrative. The sites located by Schaafsma, which he labels Navajo hogan occupations, are dated from 1640 to 1710. [19] The dates place the

Fortified pueblito.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

sites among the earliest Navajo habitations. Schaafma's dates are supported by the documentary of Father Geronimo de Zarate, who wrote in 1626: [20]

> *Curious to learn more about a nation that lived farther away than these Apaches, (we) inquired at the Jemez Pueblo about the possibility of securing a guide to visit them. His hosts replied: 'One had only to go out by way of the River Zama; and that in the nation of the Apache Indian of Navajo there is a very great river . . . and that the river suffices for a guide.'*

Yet Schaafsma found it difficult to convince his fellow archaeologists of these early Navajo dates. Their resistance is in some measure due to the pronouncements of glottochronologists such as H. Hoijer who claim that, "The movements of the Apachean languages southward appears to have begun. . .about 1,000 years ago and. . .was not entirely complete until about 600 years ago." [21] The history of glottochronology, however, is uneven, and the statements of its proponents should be viewed in this light. A new science ushered in by Hoijer in the 1950s, glottochronology is seldom utilized today as a single, *definitive* means of dating cultural sequences. The linguist Dell Hymes, at one time a student of Hoijer, writes in his analysis that a 300-year error exists in Hoijer's calculation, and that the dates for Navajo-Athapaskan languages should be moved back some 300 years. [22] Using Hymes' estimate, glottochronological dates would be within the range of those suggested here for Navajo entry into the Southwest.

After the 1960s, the archaeological work of Hester and others was perhaps more influential in establishing a late Navajo arrival date in the region. Hester states that, "There are grounds for belief that initial settlement of the 'Dinétah' region occurred during the 1500s, but not enough early Navajo sites have been dated to verify this." [23] In effect, Hester implies that Navajos entered the Southwest during the sixteenth century; but because there are insufficient data to confirm this hypothesis, he cites the first definitive phase of Navajo archaeology as the Gobernador, dating from the early eighteenth century.

Hester's argument suffers from numerous substantive and theoretical errors, not the least of which is negligence. He uses none of the Navajo Land Claims data, which reflect considerably earlier dates. Hester lists only four relatively early dates -- 1350vv, 1491, 1521, and 1598 -- representing a period of 300 years. The 40 dates covering the same period of time obtained in the Navajo Land Claims research are not considered. Hester's failure to recognize these data may be understandable in light of the fact that when he wrote (1962) some of the Land Claims material remained unpublished. Nevertheless, no one has ever satisfactorily eliminated these 40 dates. They remain unchallenged. [24]

In addition, Hester's field work was limited to a *very* small geographical area -- the Navajo Reservoir District. His research team excavated a total of 10 sites, five of which were rock shelters. [25] Thus, the data upon which Hester concludes a late seventeenth to eighteenth century Navajo arrival date are based on research at 10 sites within a 23 square-mile area! Other researchers of the Navajo Reservoir District have leaped to similar premature conclusions, taking evidence out of a narrow cultural-geographical context to formulate broader, but, the author believes, erroneous claims.

Moreover, Hester fails to address negative evidence about which he must have been aware. His 1962 publication (*Early Navajo Migrations and Acculturations*), lists Big Bead Mesa

and Chacra Mesa as dating from the mid-eighteenth century; no account is offered for the eight Chacra Mesa sites dating from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. Hester ignores Keur's documentation of two seventeenth century dates at Big Bead Mesa. [26] While he postulates "a hypothetical period prior to 1500," he does not give this "phase status due to the lack of archaeological information. The Navajos at this time," Hester asserts, "were in southeastern Colorado and northeastern New Mexico." [27]

Hester does not discuss the issue of Navajo arrival further, nor does he provide further documentation for his claims. While these claims are clearly limited in time and geographical range, this fact has not been appreciated by subsequent generations of archaeologists. As a consequence, Hester's work has had a stifling effect on Navajo archaeology. Uncritical scholars have extracted a late date of Navajo arrival from Hester's faint suggestions that Navajos were not in the Southwest prior to 1500 A.D.

Hester's contacts with and knowledge demonstrated of Navajo culture are also limited and questionable. He states, for example, that the Navajos have no names for Ute Mountain, Mancos Canyon, Montezuma Valley, and Shiprock. [28] Each of these sites has a well-known Navajo name. Respectively they are *Dziłnaajiní, Tó Nits'osíbikoh, Diwizhiibikoh* (also called -- colloquially -- *Mosí*), and *Tsé Bit'a'í*. Hester then terms a Navajo ceremony a "Witch Chant." He may be referring to the Navajo Evil Way ceremony, but no "Witch Way" exists in Navajo ceremonialism. These errors represent false information and statements, leading one to question the credibility of Hester's broader claims.

Finally, Hester attempts to extend his archaeological interpretations to include a theory of cultural change. The themes of the Navajo and Anglo-American cultures, he says, are incompatible: "Christianity, monogamy, a strong political system, a cash economy and their reinforcing complexes are in direct opposition to Navajo traditional belief." [29] Despite this seeming intransigent opposition, Hester claims in the same publication that the Navajos virtually reversed their cultural system, incorporating Puebloan beliefs and behaviors within the course of a few generations. To his discredit, Hester seems oblivious to this inconsistency.

Hester and others have chosen to ignore Navajo sites dated to the fifteenth century and earlier. It is this writer's contention that these sites must not be ignored or neglected by future research and inquiry. Correll's dated tree-ring samples (c. 1350-1700) from Navajo sites south of the current reservation near Quemado, New Mexico and those from Chacra Mesa suggest that these dwellings were made by Navajos who arrived from the north. It is the task of future scientists to address the questions raised by these dates.

The tree-ring dates are qualified, of course, by the information which follows them (W, H, inc., B., etc.). Individual, sometimes idiosyncratic dates without "clusters" are a recognized problem in dendrochronology, one that is properly mentioned by scientists when dates are misused. These problems are recognized here, but it is also recognized that tree-ring dates serve an important function as indicators of the time a piece of wood was cut. Dendrochronological evidence such as that amassed by Correll, when used collectively with historical documentation (written and oral), reveals possibilities of much greater potential significance than those garnered from the narrow theoretical and methodological confines of a handful of sites limited in time and space. For the case at hand, such a collectivity of data sources forms a strong case for a Navajo entry date into the Southwest of 1300 or earlier!

Roof of a room in a fortified pueblito

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Perhaps one of the reasons for the failure of the scientific community to accept this early date is the nature of Navajo habitation sites. These are primarily composed of the wood-and-earth forked stick hogans -- a composition not likely to be well preserved over many years. Those that have been preserved, however, afford intriguing and important evidence of early Navajo habitations. Brugge notes that: [30]

> *The remains of several wooden structures have been recorded in the country around Quemado, New Mexico. These have produced tree-ring dates ranging from 1387 and 1935.*

While Brugge is uncertain whether these remains are Navajo, he describes them as of certain Athapaskan origin. According to this account, the Quemado area was used primarily as a hunting camp, utilized by Navajo-Athapaskans who probably entered from the north.

Summary

The evidence from oral and written records is compelling, and suggests that Navajos may have entered the Southwest as early as the twelfth century A.D. Abundant tree-ring specimens from the area date to the seventeenth century, and a few date to c. 1350 A.D. Spanish historical accounts reinforce the theory of a Navajo occupation in Dinétah by 1630 and probably earlier. These sources of information complement and support the stories told by Navajos of their origins in Dinétah.

The case for a late Navajo arrival date into the Southwest rests primarily on a single data source, that of archaeology. Often neglecting the oral and written historical record as well as the work of their fellow scientists, many archaeologists address the Navajos' occupation at Dinétah within the narrow time from 1700 to 1775 A.D. The support for this time range rests on negative evidence from only a few excavated sites. Because few Navajo sites have been positively identified from earlier time periods, it is argued that Navajos did not occupy the area until a later date.

Not all researchers have been convinced by the "negative evidence" hypothesis. The anthropologist J.O. Brew amplifies the concern of Hill, Brugge, Danson, C. Schaafsma, Correll, Forbes, Matthews and others, including this author, who believe the Navajos to have entered the Southwest centuries before 1770-1775: [31]

> *Why there is this reluctance to permit the Navahos and Apaches to be native sons I cannot presume to say, but the arguments put forward are singularly unimpressive. In most discussions and even in print one finds constant reiteration of the point that there is no evidence of great antiquity. This, as used in the standard argument, is tantamount to saying that the absence of evidence is support for one side of the argument against the other. We have had altogether too much of this sort of thing.*

PART II

Dinétah Rock Art and Material Culture

Masked figure with wand; Blanco Canyon.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHAPTER SIX

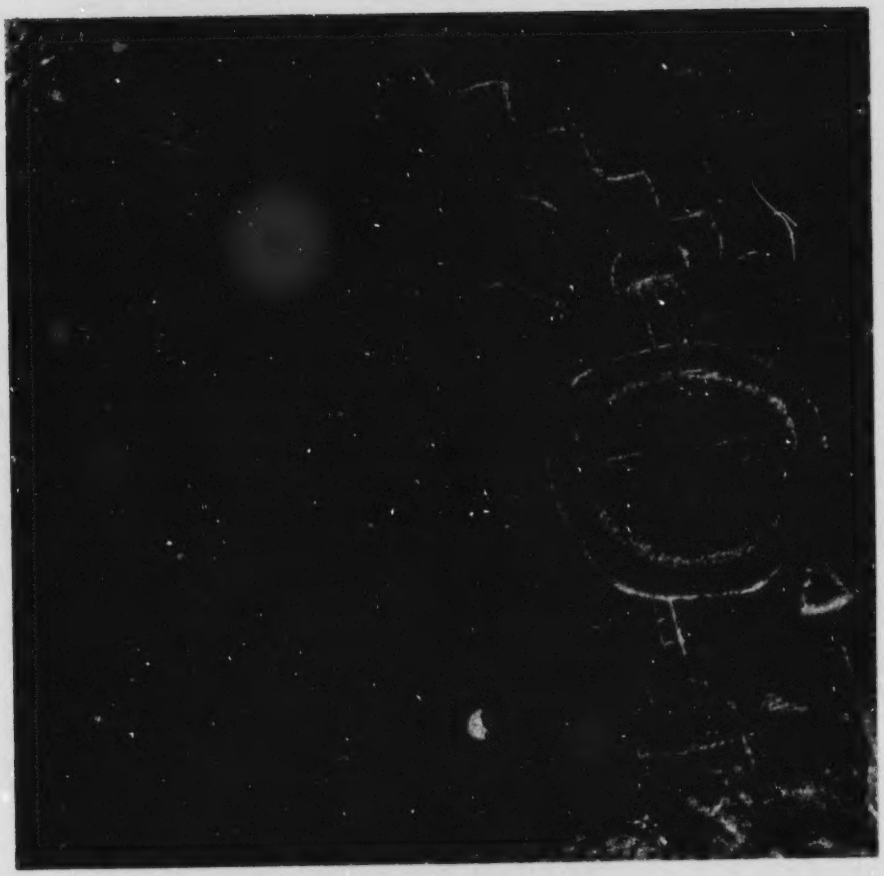
Dinétah and Its Rock Art

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE, in a single publication, to include photographs of every known petroglyph and pictograph in Dinétah. The aim of this book is to present and discuss some of the area's rock art from a Navajo perspective. To accomplish this it was necessary to visit the area repeatedly and photograph in as many separate canyons as possible. Exploring and camping in many of the canyons and mesas, I looked for signs of earlier Navajo habitation, whether rock art, pueblito, fortified crags or forked stick hogans. No pretense is made of "expertise" in Dinétah art or material culture. It is hoped, however, that the material presented in this chapter will kindle interest and respect for the region -- and not merely exite the interests of those who wish to vandalize and further destroy this fragile, natural collection of art and history.

Mr. and Mrs. Harry Hadlock know the Dinétah region better perhaps than anyone else, and have devoted years of study to its rock art. They have traversed the length and breadth of Dinétah, photographing, cataloging and writing about the Navajo remains there. In addition, the Hadlocks have championed the preservation of the area while still freely helping others who wish to learn more about its culture history. For further information on this aspect of the region, the reader is referred to the Hadlocks' published and unpublished works (see Chapter Two and reference section, pp. 167-180).

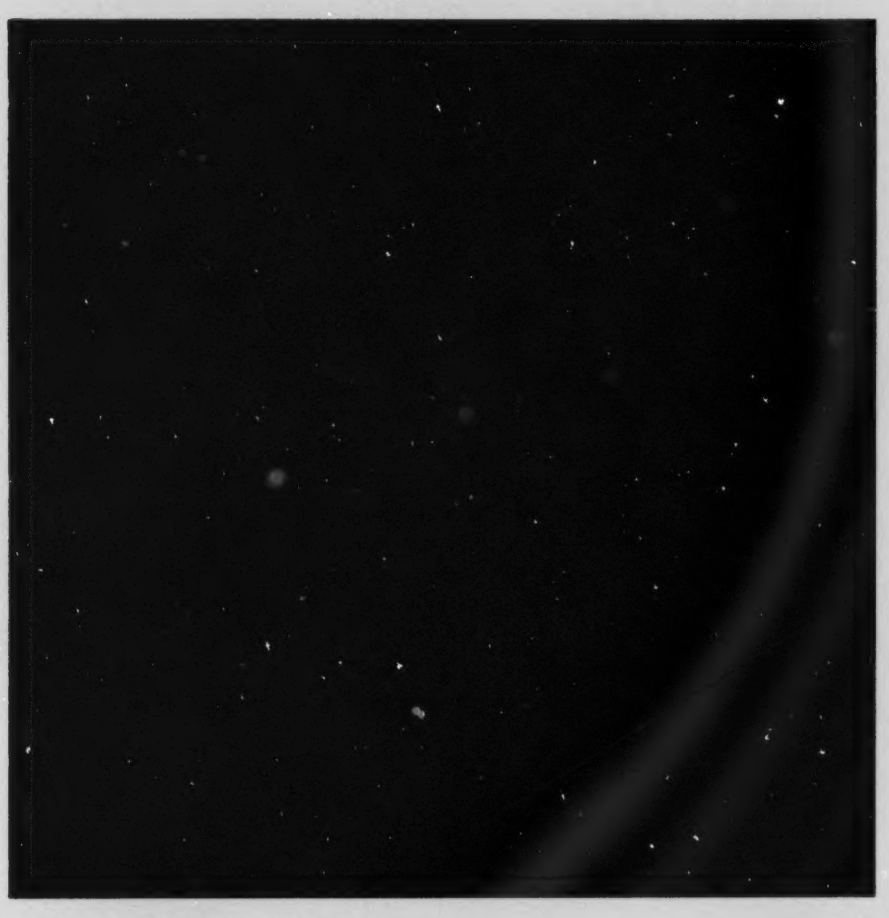
This chapter, then, includes select photographs of Dinétah Navajo rock art, with a description of each petroglyph or pictograph. The photographs are presented according to their location in the Dinétah area.

BLANCO CANYON



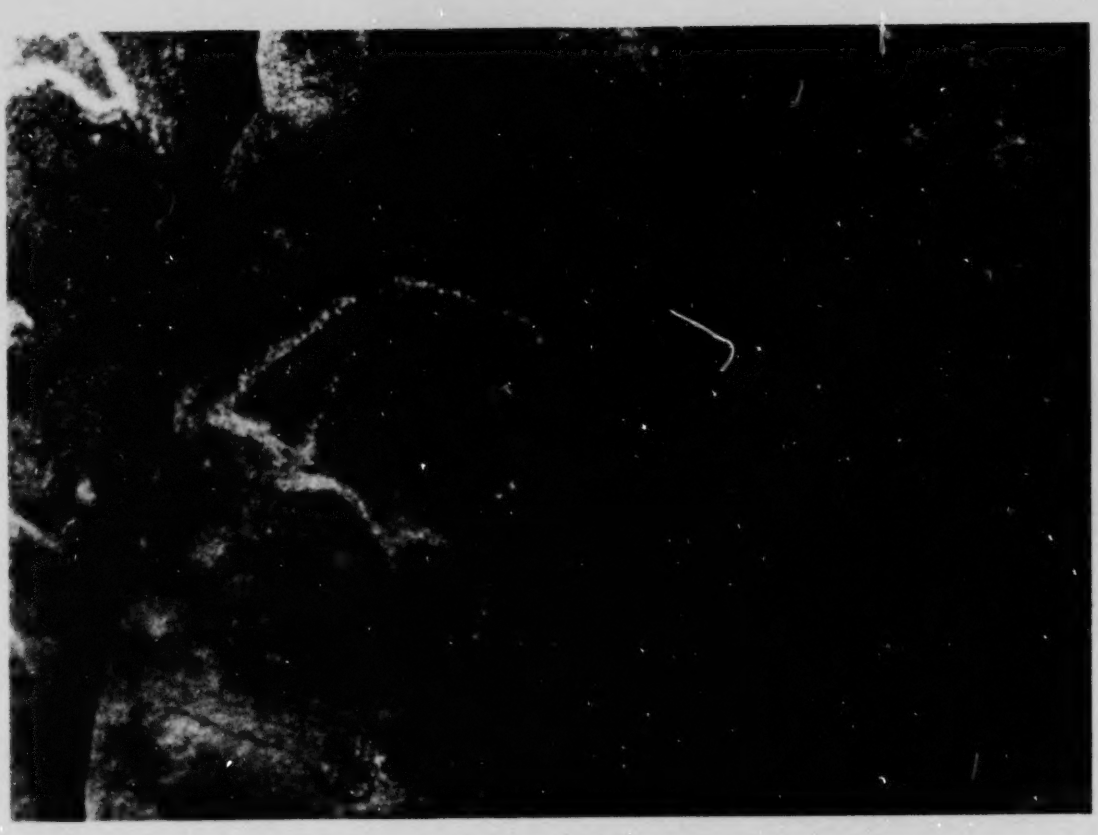
Central figure represents a basket surrounded by 10 clouds. Seven feathers are inside. To the right of the basket representation is another shield with a bow and arrow, depicting Monster Slayer's symbol.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



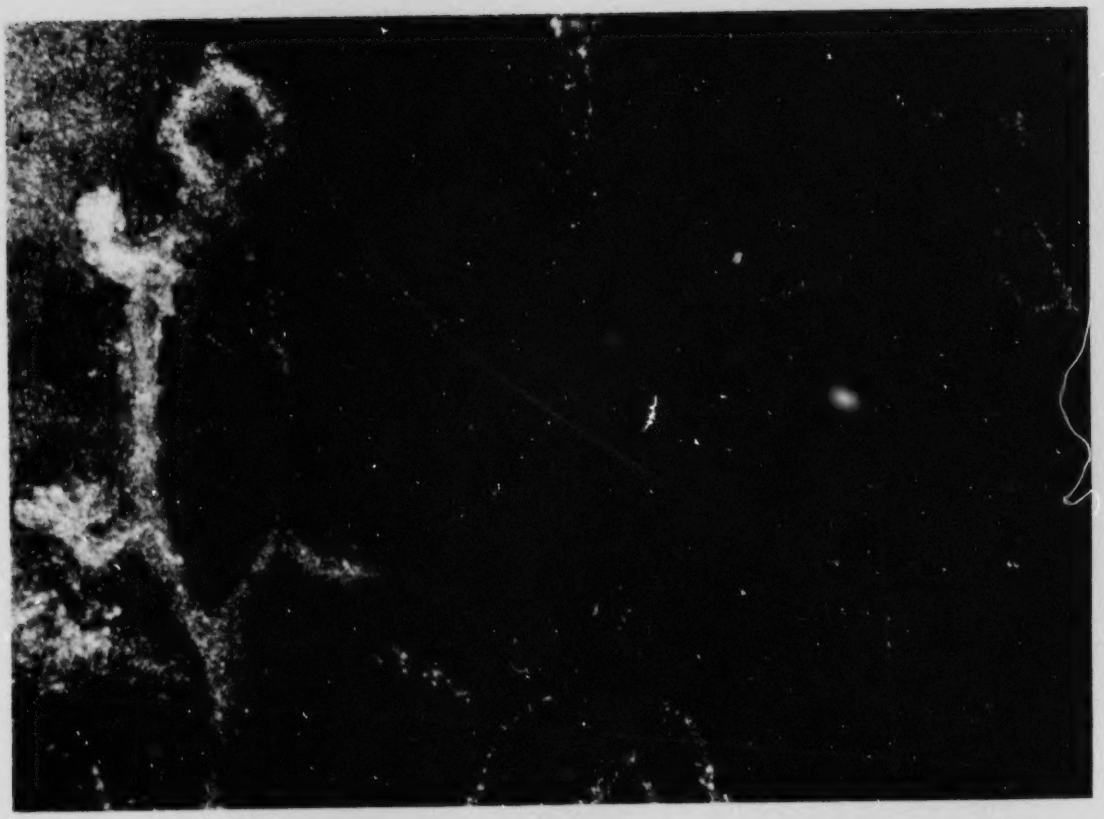
Closer view of the basket-cloud design.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



The bat represents power in war and travel. Medicine is sprinkled on the bat to help in these endeavors.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

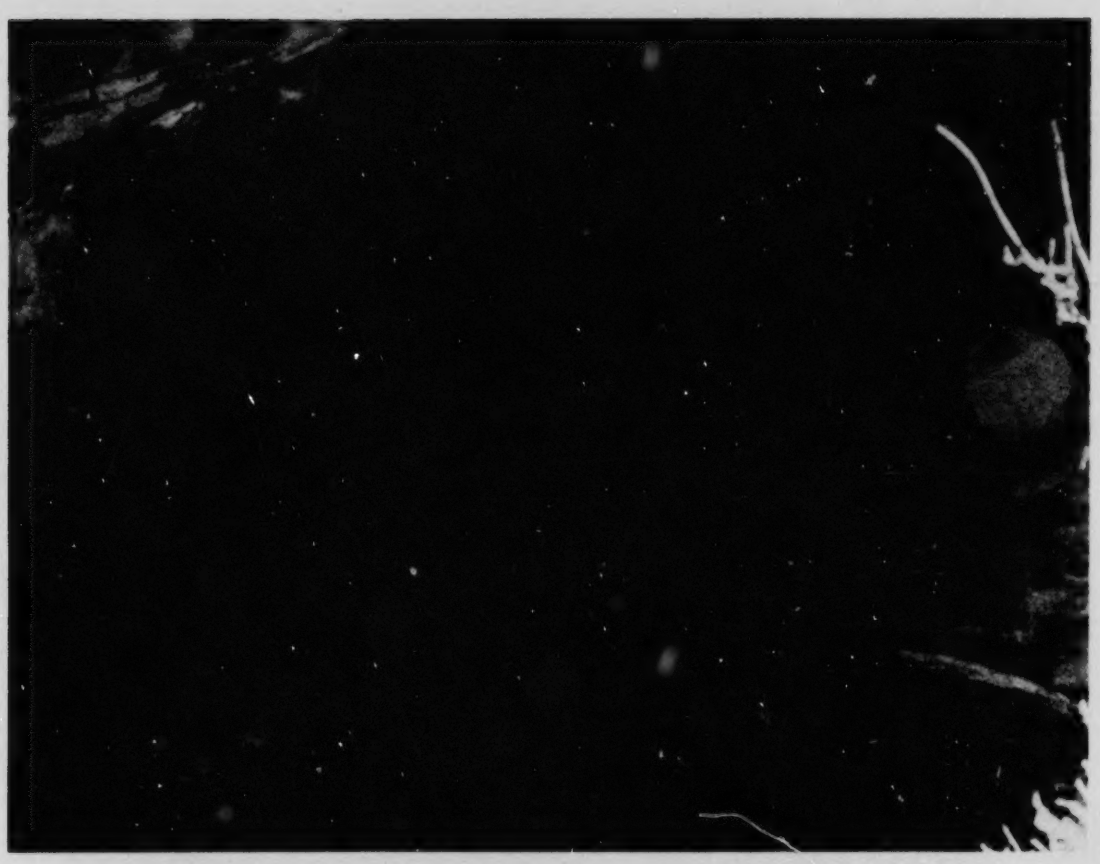


Horned Toad and Coyote meet each other and discuss corn and who planted it. Navajo stories quote Coyote as saying, "You plant the corn and the first corn that ripens is mine."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Close-up view of masked figure, also shown in the context of a large panel, in photo at right.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Masked figure (Humped Back or Gambler God) holding a wand and hoop. This figure represents gambling. Talking God is also involved, standing to the left. The panel may depict how to catch Eagle, shown in the lower center.

126

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

A bird sits atop clouds. To the left, 40 small marks in a circle represent the traditional Navajo stick game, played by Eagle

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

This panel depicts a large snake with rattles on its tail.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

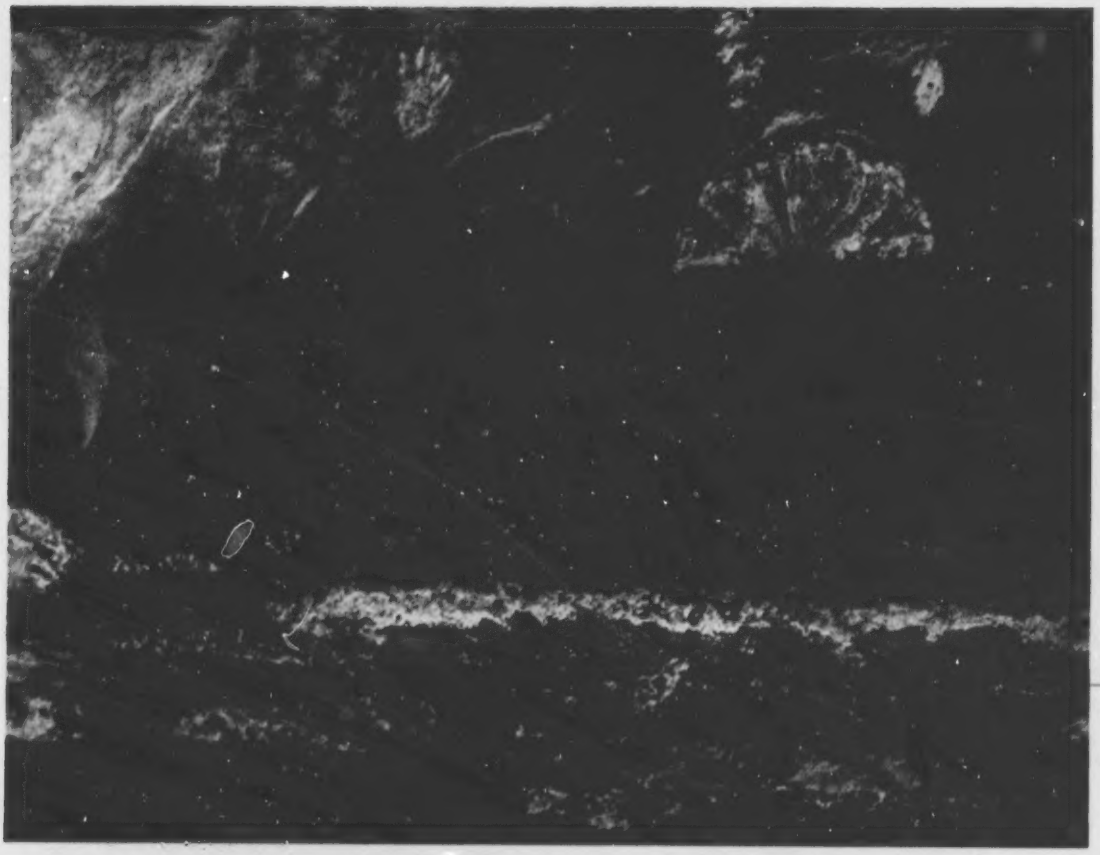
DELGADITO CANYON

Two figures appear in a side canyon of Delgadito Canyon. One is red and white (the white has all but washed away); the other is incised.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Incised figure in Delgadito Canyon.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



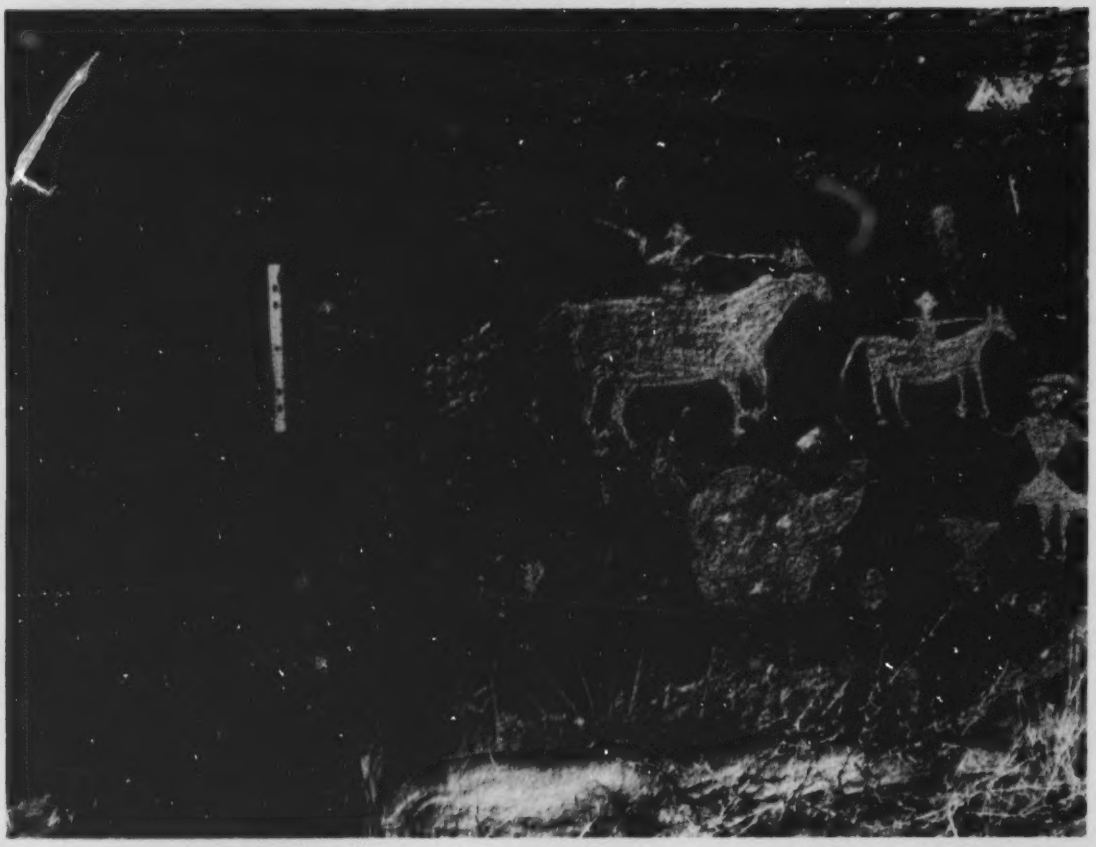
Panel showing a row of red and white figures with a multi-colored cloud or rainbow above, right.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CROW CANYON

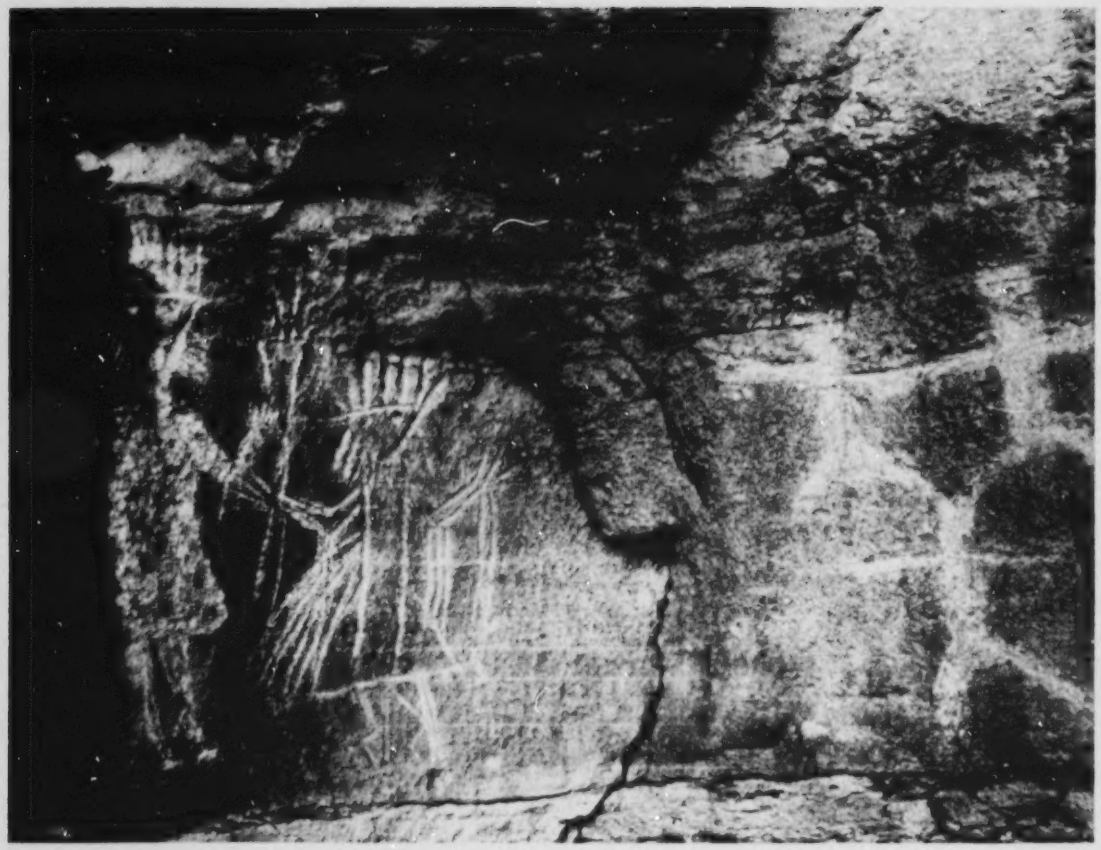
This representation of a hunter with bow and arrow shooting a deer (?) also shows damage from a bullet. Snake is located in the lower right portion of the panel.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



This panel in Crow Canyon shows many interesting figures. On the left is a figure with a horn headdress; slightly below and to the right is a Humpback figure; to the right is a figure with a star headdress; a large figure to the right has a horned mask; Spanish riders on horses with swords are above; an hourglass figure is to the left and right.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



This figure panel in Crow Canyon shows a different type of mask that is triangular with feathers on the top and sides.

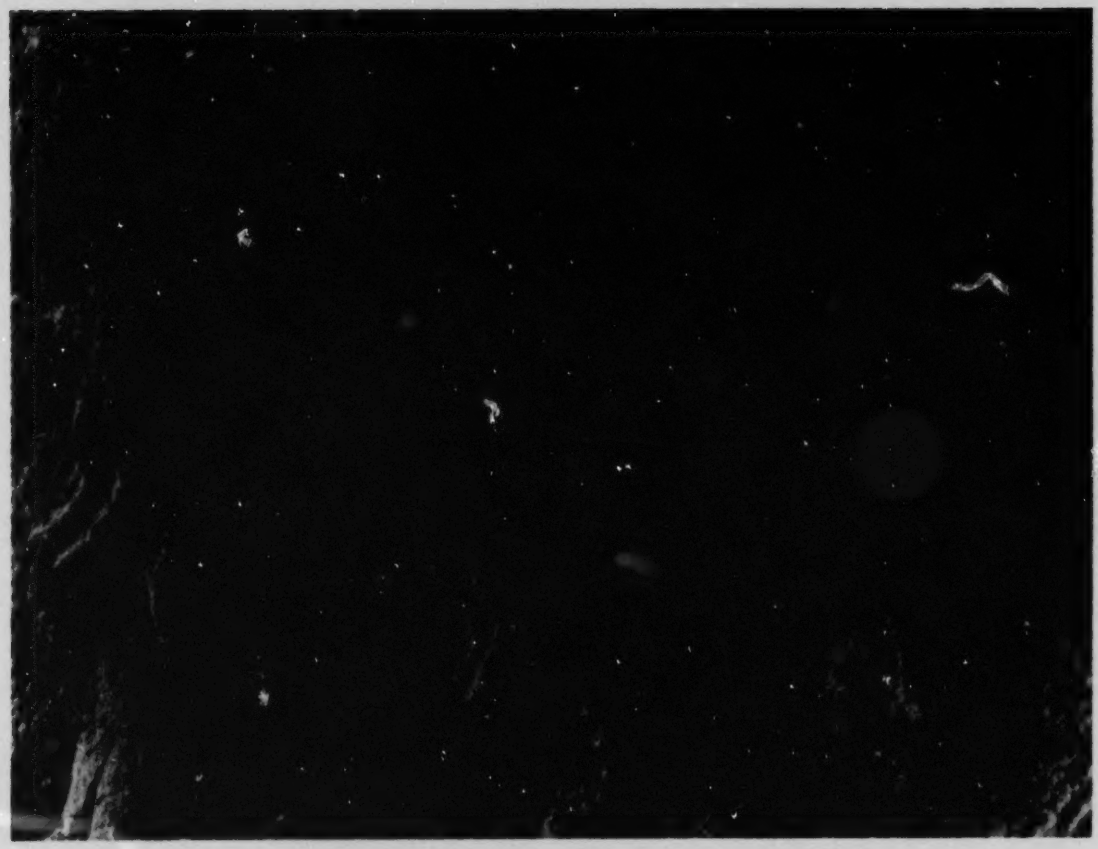
BEST COPY AVAILABL

A panel located further in Crow Canyon shows a buffalo being run into a net and deer with an arrow/spear shot through the heart. A man with bow and arrow appears in the lower part of the photograph.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

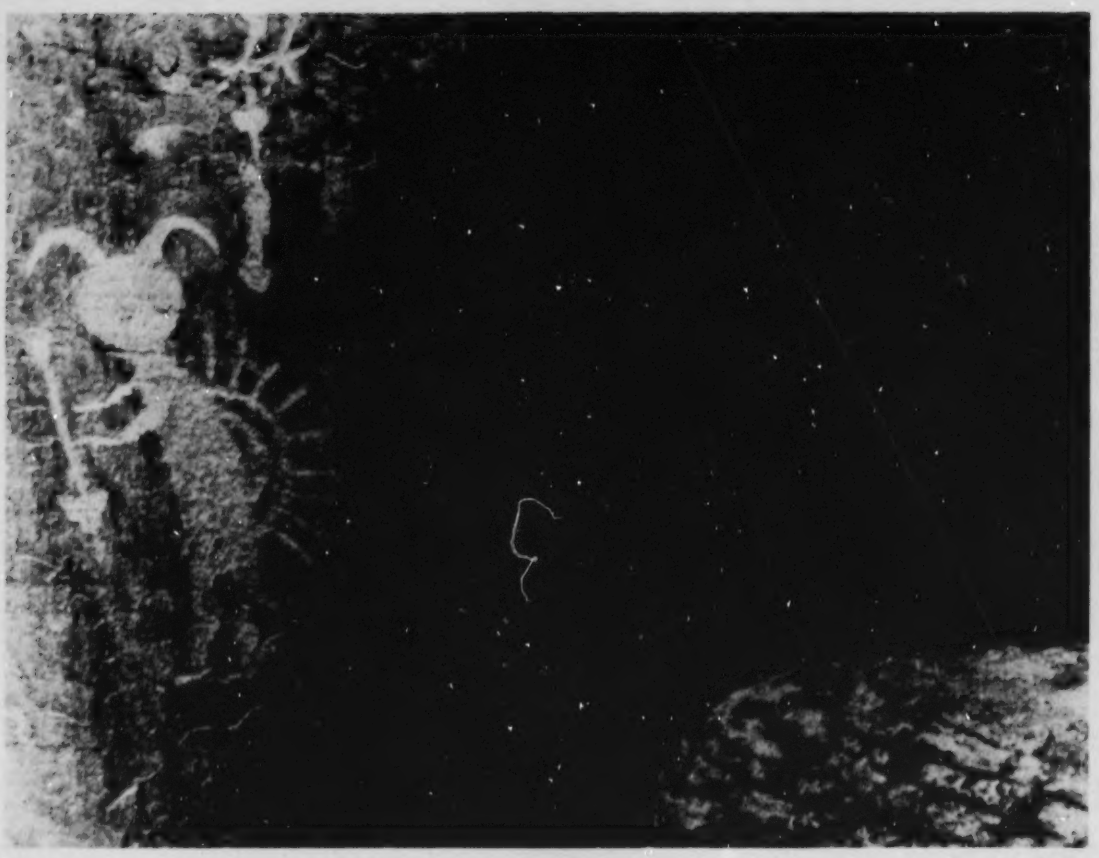
This very important panel shows rows of bows and hourglass figures. Notice the hoof below these figures.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Close-up of a deer shot through the middle with an arrow or spear.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



This panel from the uppermost portion of Crow Canyon shows *Ghąą ask'idii* with a wand (left) and two large "tablito" figures to the right.

138

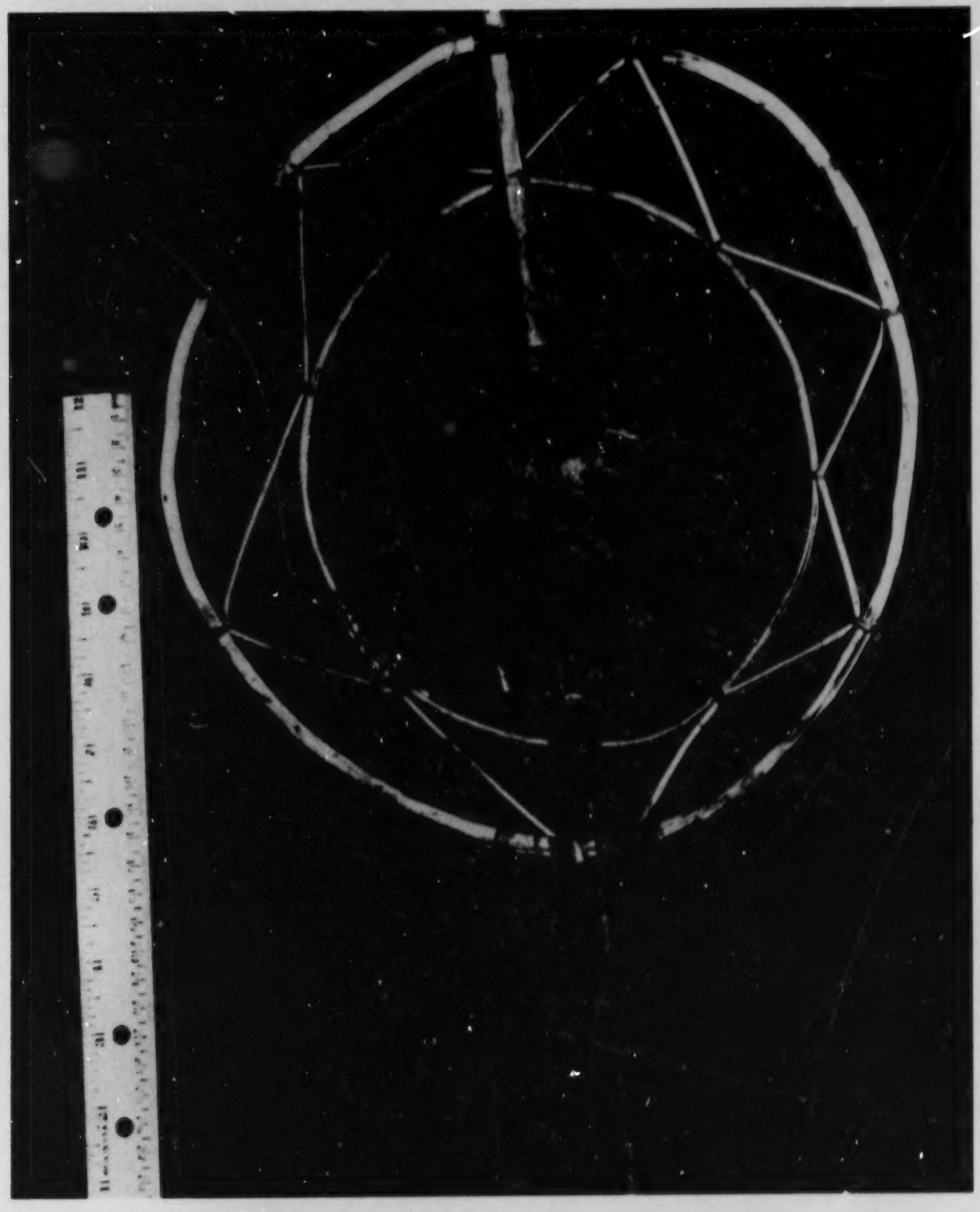
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Example of early Navajo rock art showing a corn figure, seed, bear and bird tracks.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Ghą́ą ask'idii figure.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



A gourd rattle surrounded by a star design, found in a small cave in Palluchi Canyon.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHAPTER SEVEN

Palluchi Canyon Cache

ONE OF THE MOST interesting and significant finds of wooden artifacts, dating from the eighteenth century (?), was uncovered by an employee of El Paso Natural Gas in 1967.[1] This cache of ceremonial artifacts was found in Palluchi Canyon in the Dinétah region. The question of whether the cache was made by Pueblo refugees or Navajos may never be answered with certainty. Regardless of its origins, the collection (now located at the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, New Mexico), represents the most complete ceremonial cache discovered in the area to date.

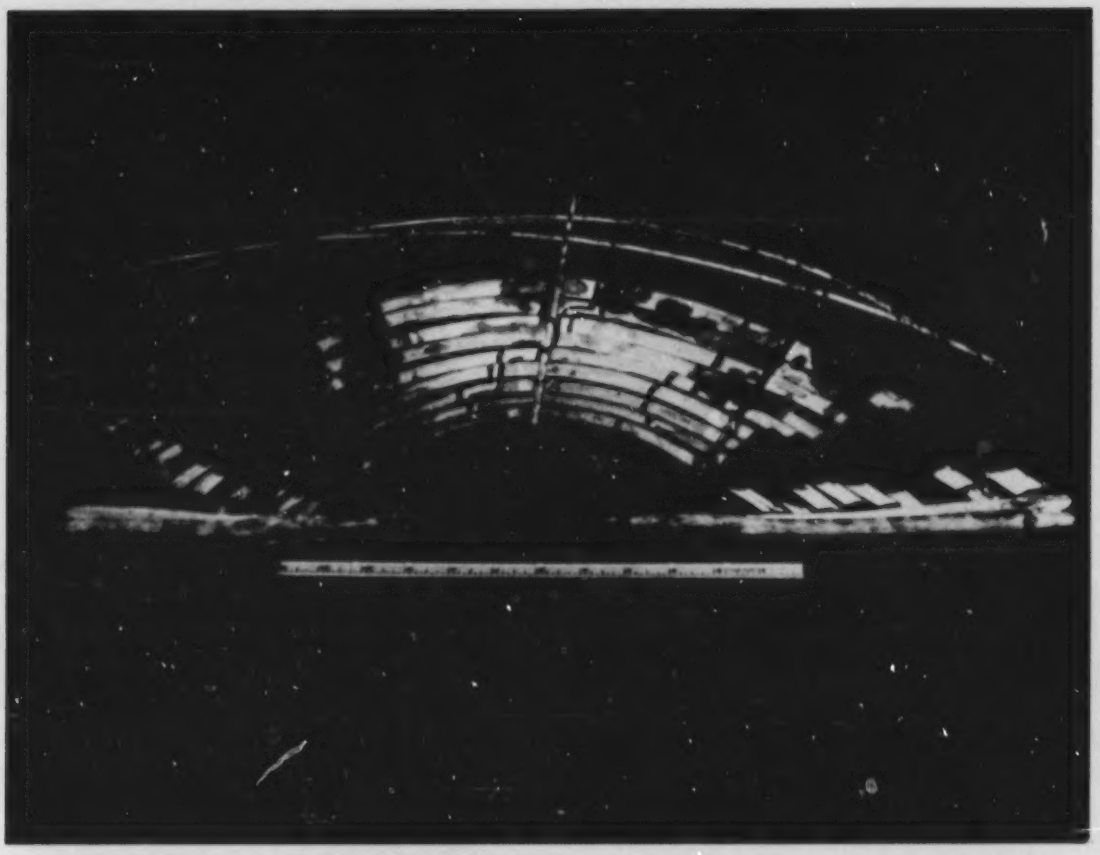
A total of 96 pieces is contained in the Palluchi Canyon wooden collection. The photographs in this chapter illustrate some of the variety and depth of the cache. Of the many extant Navajo archaeological remains, none demonstrates as complete a range and diversity of perishable articles as does this collection.

My daughter White Shell (Mary) and I visited Palluchi Canyon in May, 1981 to photograph the cave in which the ceremonial wooden collection was uncovered. The small cave, perhaps two feet in diameter and eight feet deep, is located about 30 feet up from the lower bench in the south end of the second small canyon, on the left side of Palluchi Canyon. An adult would just fit in the cave if he or she went in feet or head first. The remains of a small masonry wall are located in the lower left portion of the cave. It appears that the cave was very dry and thus provided excellent preservation for the ceremonial objects that were found there.

It is interesting to speculate about the cache. Whose was it? Why was it hidden? Examination of the items shows certain definite similarities to Navajo cultural items that are used today, such as the basketry hat, the gourd rattles and wooden twig circles. Other items in the cache do not appear in Navajo ceremonies today (*e.g.*, hand tablitos and the wand/rattle).

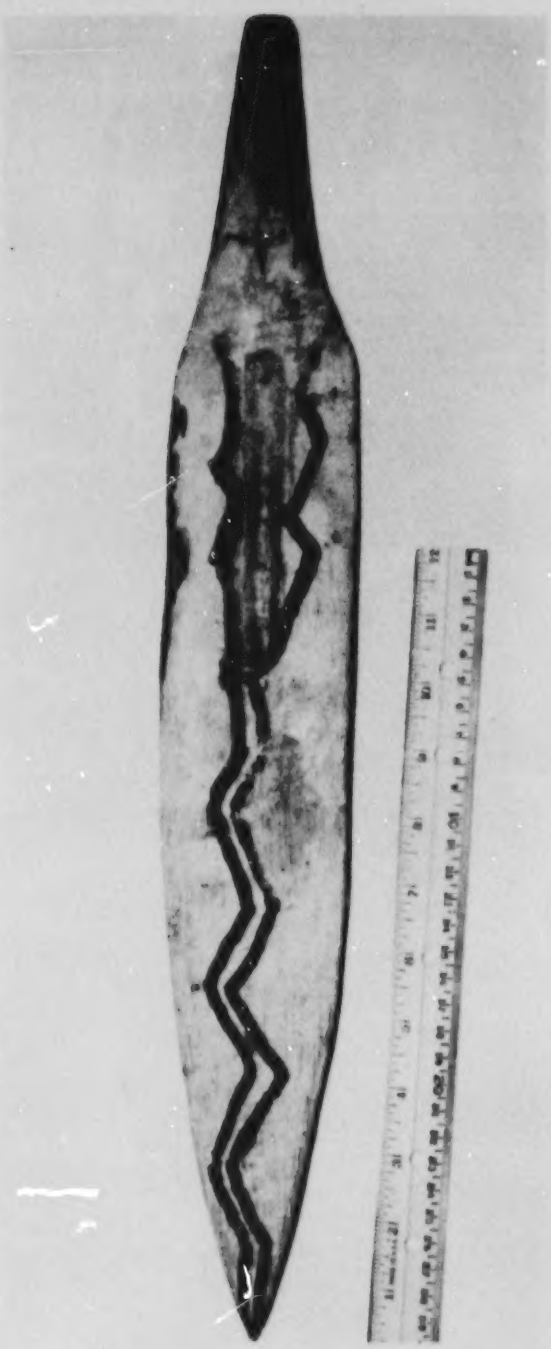
Hence, certain artifacts represented in the cache have been culturally retained, while others have been lost. Why? There is little doubt that much of the cache consists of items that are more Pueblo than Navajo in style and usage -- in particular, the hand tablitos and slat headdress. No one will ever be able to answer all the questions the cache raises, but it is hoped that as Navajos study the photographs of its contents, our knowledge will be greatly increased.

Sadly, the cache generates other concerns. This unique discovery in Palluchi Canyon causes one to wonder if other cave sites have been located within Dinétah, and their cultural contents removed by collectors or mercenaries. It seems likely, given this find, that numerous other sites exist about which we know nothing but which revealed to the scavenger articles of priceless value.



This head or altar piece is made of curved wooden slats, joined to form a flat arched "rainbow." It is fastened by three sticks (one is missing) doubled over and tied down between each slot. Two slender arched sticks -- peeled and unpainted -- are tied to these cross-pieces above the rainbow. The rainbow is painted in vertical bands of red, turquoise, yellow, white, turquoise and red, separated by narrow black lines. On its back face, slots are alternately red and blue. The piece is 24-1/2 inches long by 10 inches high; its holder is a peeled stick 24-1/2 inches long and split at each end for insertion of the rainbow. A trace of red paint on one notch matches the slots of a bow.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

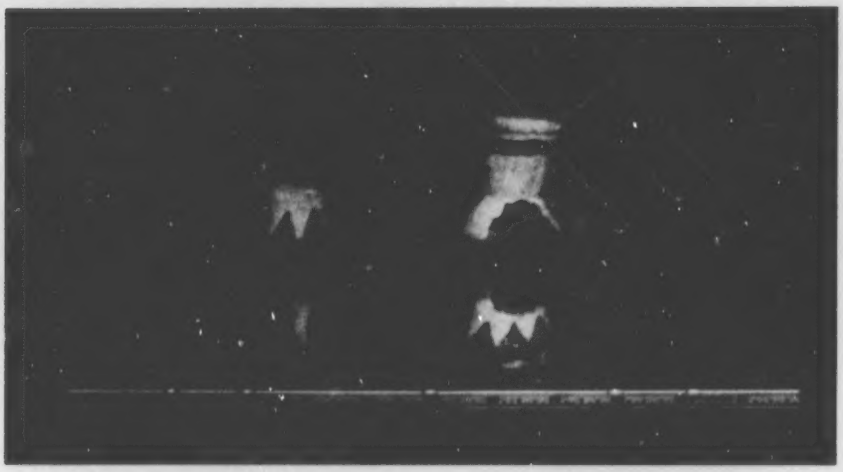


This roughly carved wooden dance paddle is 19-1/2 inches long. It is parallel-sided and sharply painted at one end; the opposite end tapers to form a long, wedge-shaped handle with a bluntly curved base. There is a deep groove, 3/4 inch wide by 4-3/4 inches long, on each face. The paddle is painted white. Two zig-zag lines run along its length on both faces, splitting near the handle to outline the groove.

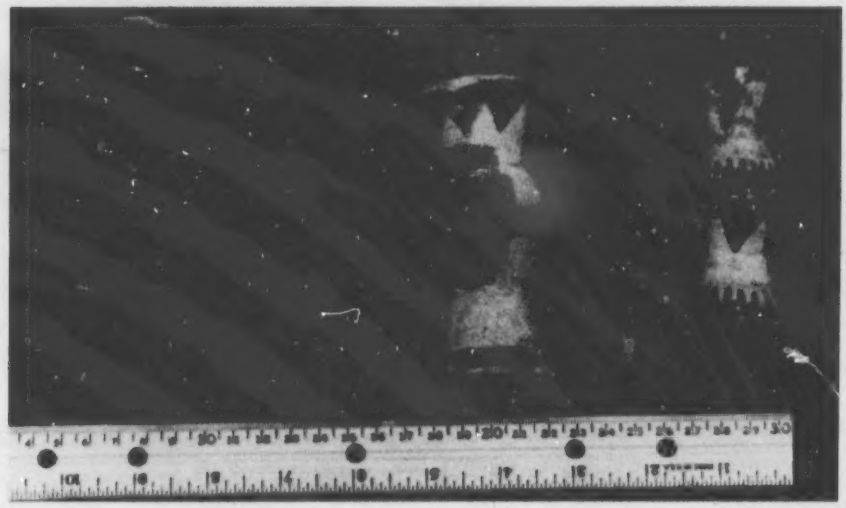
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Reverse side of the same dance paddle.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

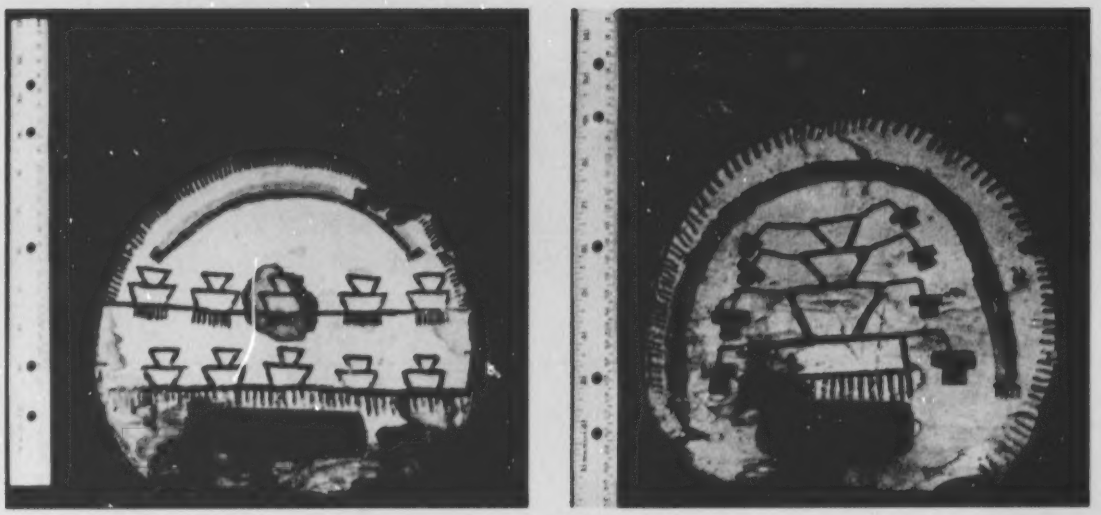


This photograph shows a pair of carved wooden holders (?), used in chants to hold ceremonial objects. The interiors are roughly hollowed (both ends are open), and exteriors are shaped and painted. The middle portion of each holder is shouldered, 1.8-inch in diameter. The holders are constricted above and below, then flared outward, cutting off beyond the central bulges on either end to form straight rims. They are painted white and have a black band around globular centers with a fringe on one edge, a pendant of triangles on the lower edge, a black band around the top rim, pendant triangles below, a black band around the base rim and fringe above. The holders are 4.4 inches high.



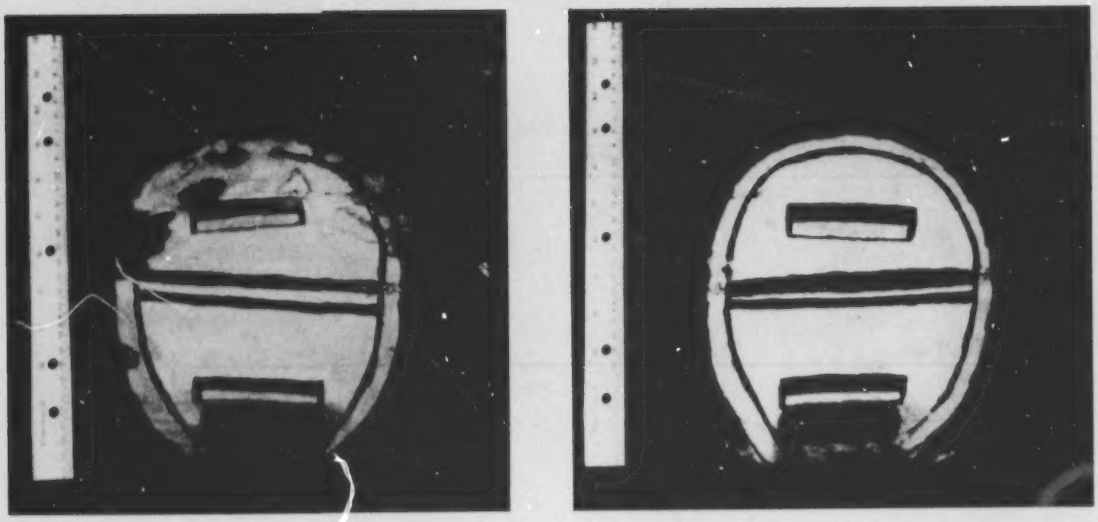
Reverse side of carved wooden holders.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



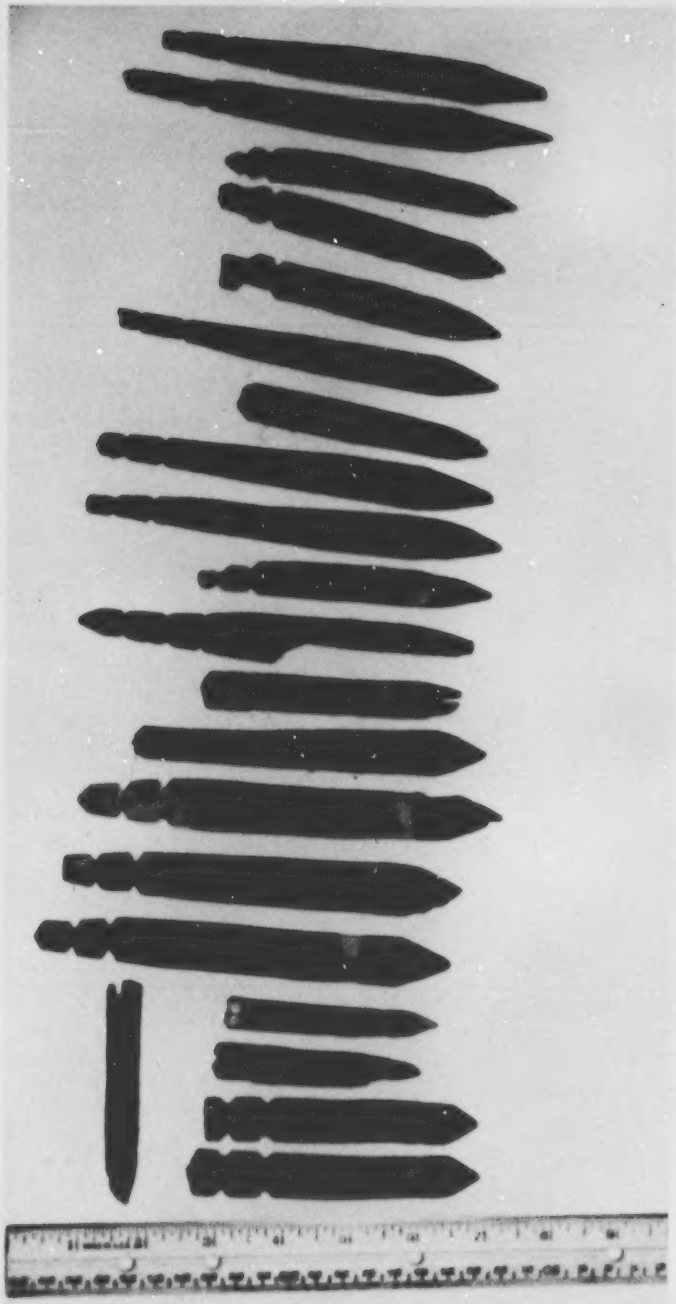
This hand tablito (above left) shows a cloud and rain design, with a rainbow guardian above. It is 9-3/8 inches wide by 8-3/4 inches long, and has a rectangular hand-hold cut out above the base. One face has a black "fringed" band framing the top and sides, beneath which is a red and blue rainbow. The central portion contains large terraced figures (black lines on white background) with a fringe of rain (?) below. Solid black "blossoms" project out and downward from the edges, forming a terrace. The tablito is drilled at intervals around the sides; two of these holes contain fragments of cotton cordage. The opposite face of the tablito (right) has a similar border and rainbow with two rows of small black and white terraced elements (rain clouds?) across the central portion.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



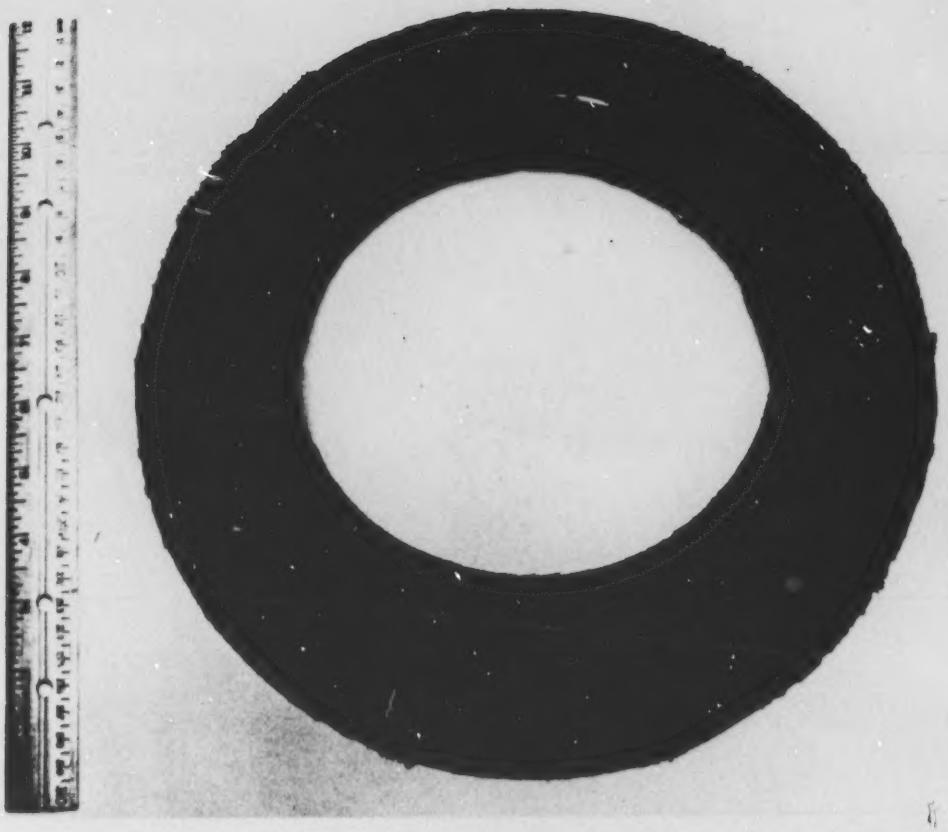
These oval-shaped hand tablitos are 8-1/2 by 9 inches, and flattened along the base. Each tablito consists of two pieces laced together with vegetal fiber threads. A rectangular hand-hold is cut out above the base. The same design appears on both faces, and consists of red and blue bands outlined in black against a white background. Two black bands cross the center where the two pieces of the tablito are joined. The tablito is drilled at intervals around the edges.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Collection of wooden feathers which once were attached to basket hats used in Navajo ceremonies.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



This basket hat is used in the Navajo Fire Dance and Yeibichai ceremony. The hat has 21 carved and painted, flat wooden plumes, some of which are double- or triple-notched. Some plumes are painted red on both faces. One face has a black tip with two black stripes below; the other side has only a black tip. Still other plumes show black tips on both faces, with an unpainted band below and a red body. The plumes range in size from about three to seven inches in length.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

This coiled basket hat is 11-3/4 inches in diameter at its rim. The bottom is removed, forming a flaring crown-like headdress. The interior of the hat is painted red (over the original geometric basketry design). The exterior is covered with a dull black substance with micaceous inclusions, upon which is laid a mosaic design with a band around the top and bottom rims and a zig-zag pattern between. Fastened inside and projecting above the rim are carved wooden plumes, painted at the top and notched at the base for tying. The plumes are painted red on one face with a black tip and narrow black band beneath. The opposite sides are variously red, white, or unpainted, with a black tip and bands. Only four plumes remain on this hat, tied to the rim of the basket. Fragments of buckskin ties can be discerned where other plumes are missing.

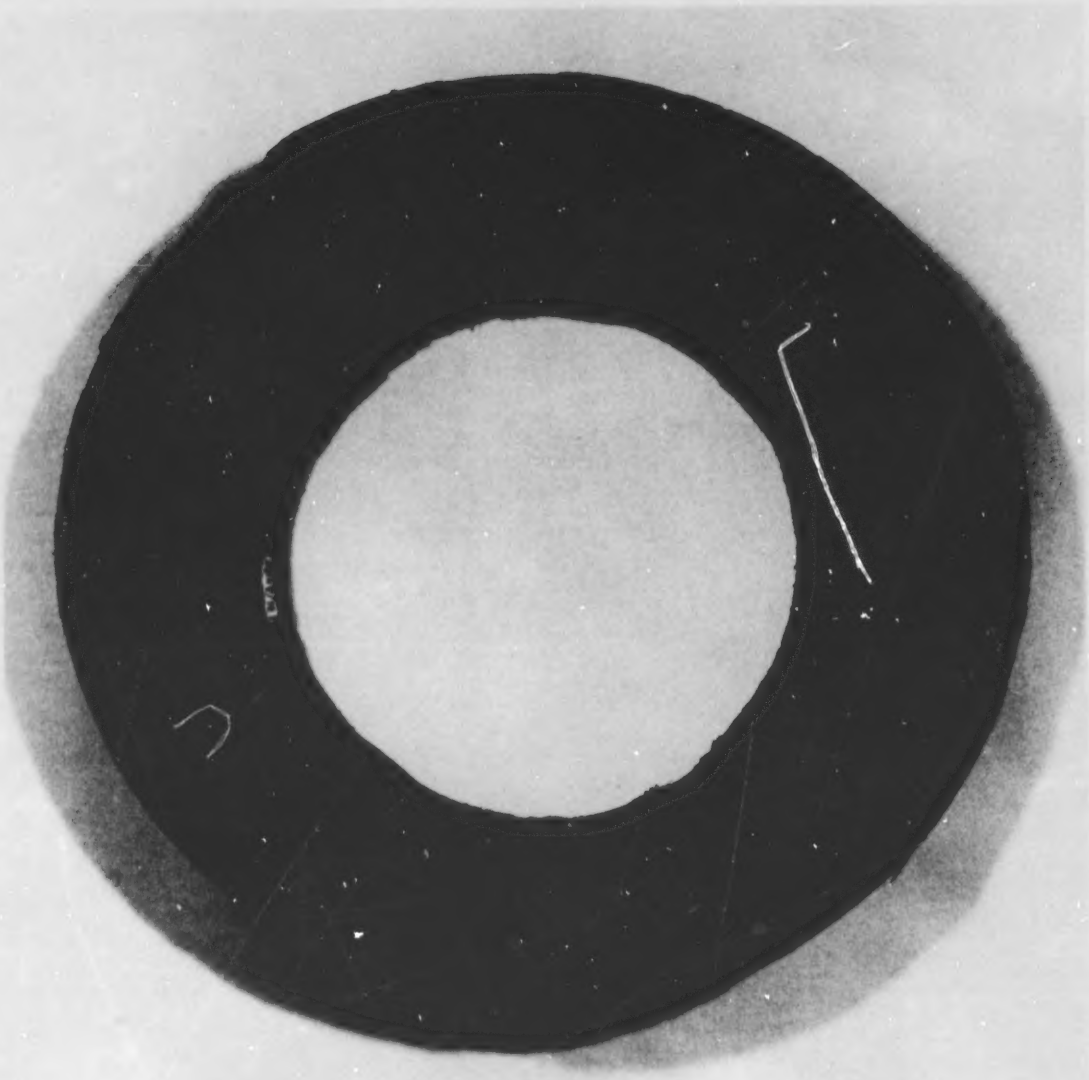
View of the same basket hat, showing exterior.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

A third coiled basketry headdress has a diameter of 13 inches at the rim. The interior (shown here) is painted red. Fragments of buckskin ties remain between the coils for attachment of plumes.

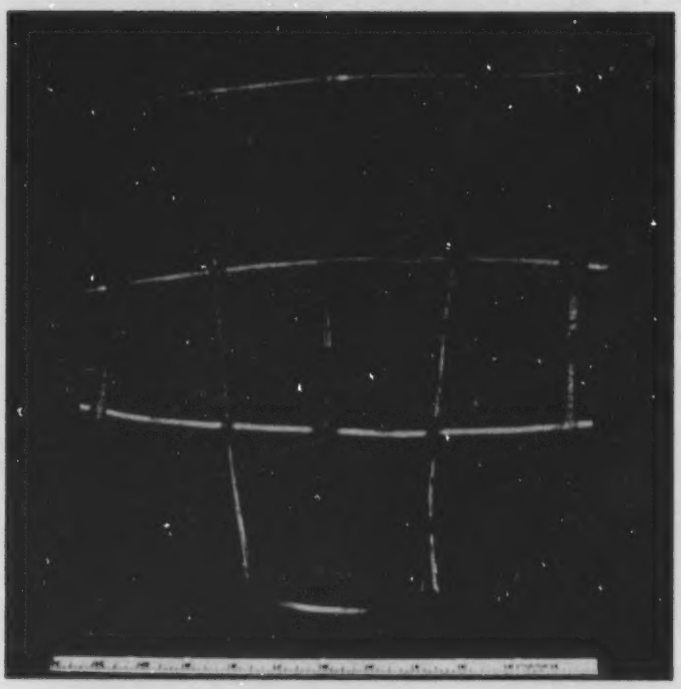
The exterior of the same basket hat is black with a geometric design applied in red gum or resin. A black band separates the upper and lower rims; double vertical bands appear at intervals between the rims.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Yet another coiled basketry headdress has a rim diameter of 11-1/2 inches. Again, the bottom has been removed, forming a flaring "crown." The exterior is black with a red gum or resin design. A band circles the top and bottom rim, with a zig-zag line between bands. Fragments of buckskin and vegetal fiber ties appear between the basket coils.

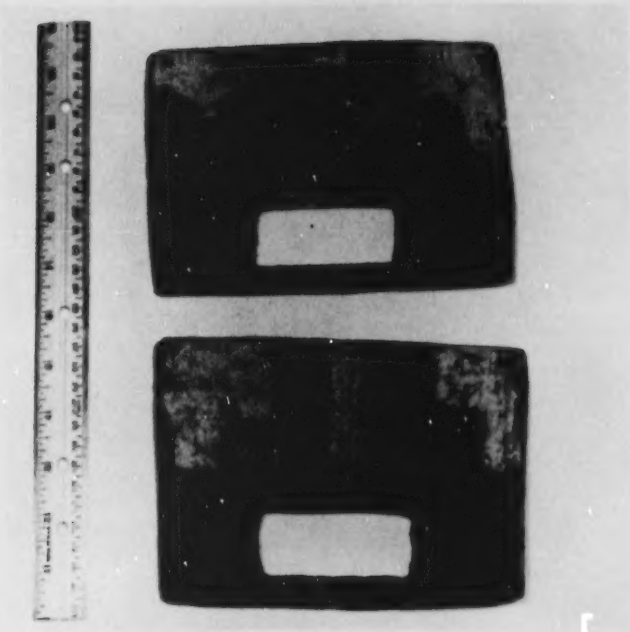
BEST COPY AVAILABLE



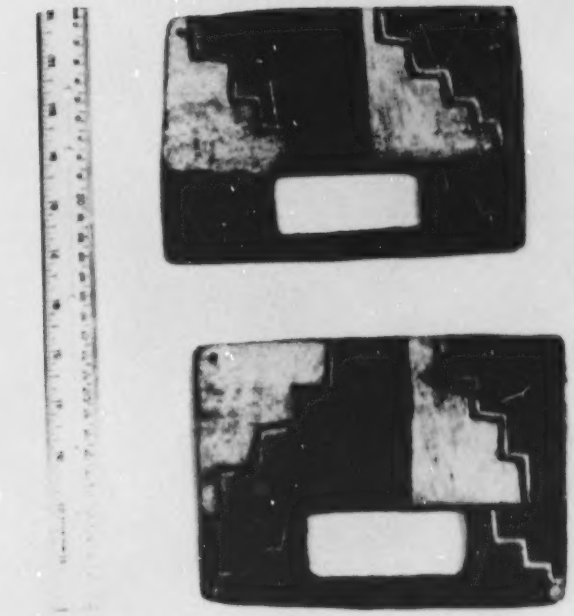
Fragments tied with fiber may have been part of a mask, headdress, or other ritual paraphernalia.

A similar lattice-type wooden framework tied with fiber may have been used for the same ceremonial purposes as the one shown above.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

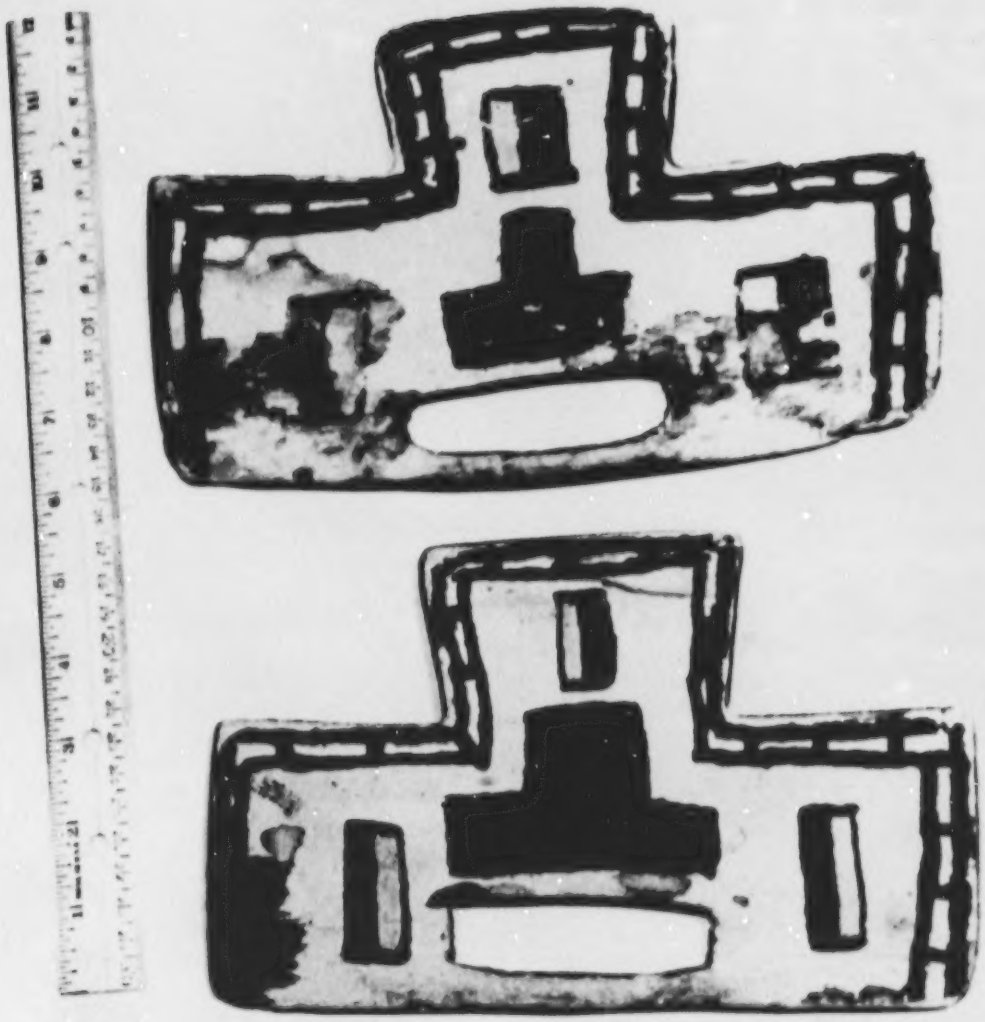


This pair of hand tablitos is made of single rectangular pieces with rectangular hand-holds cut out above the base. Both have a geometric design of stepped motifs on each face painted in red, black and white. The tablitos are approximately 7 by 5-1/2 inches and 7 by 5-1/4 inches, respectively.



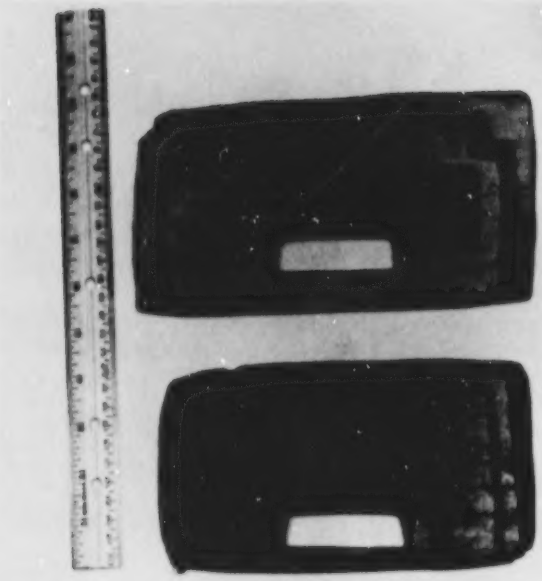
Opposite face of the same pair of tablitos.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

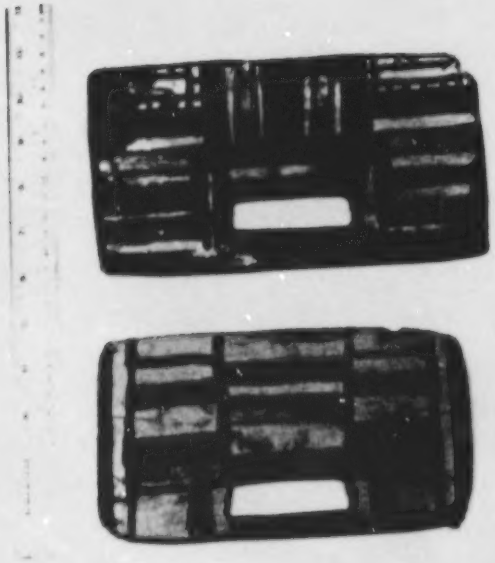


On this pair of hand tablitos, one shows a stepped pattern in which the central design is higher than the middle edges. A rectangular hand-hold has been cut out above the base. One side has two black lines around the border, disected by smaller black lines. The interior portion of the design consists of three rainbows (?) surrounding a centrally placed black cloud (?). The tablito to the left is 7-1/4 by 3-1/4 by 5-3/4 inches. The other is 7 by 4 by 5-1/4 inches.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

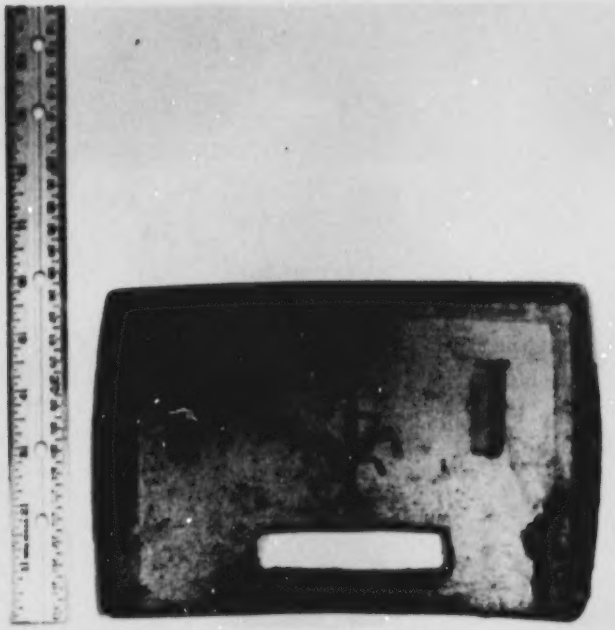


These two hand tablitos are similar but not identical in style. They are both rectangular with hand-holds cut above the base. A small hole has been drilled in the corners of each. One tablito (left) shows a pattern of red, yellow and blue bands set off with black stripes. This tablito is approximately 7-1/2 by 4-1/4 inches. The other has rainbow and cloud figures of red, blue, yellow and black, outlined with black stripes. This tablito is approximately 8-1/2 by 4-3/4 inches.

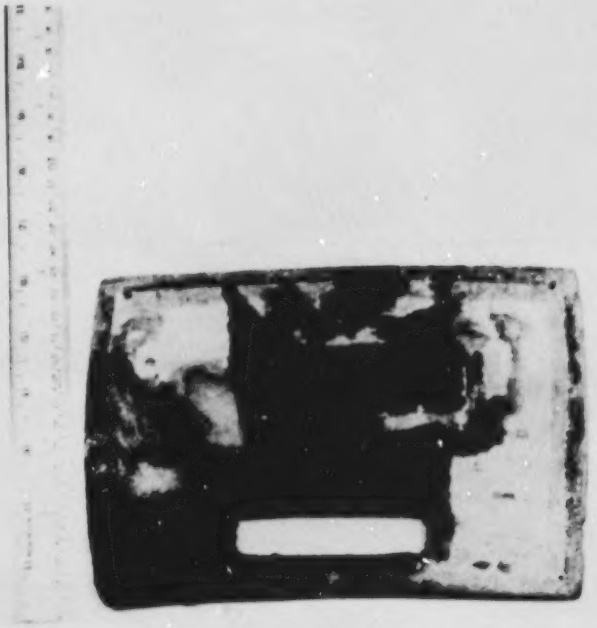


The opposite faces of the same tablito pair show segmented patterns of red, yellow and blue bands set off with black stripes.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

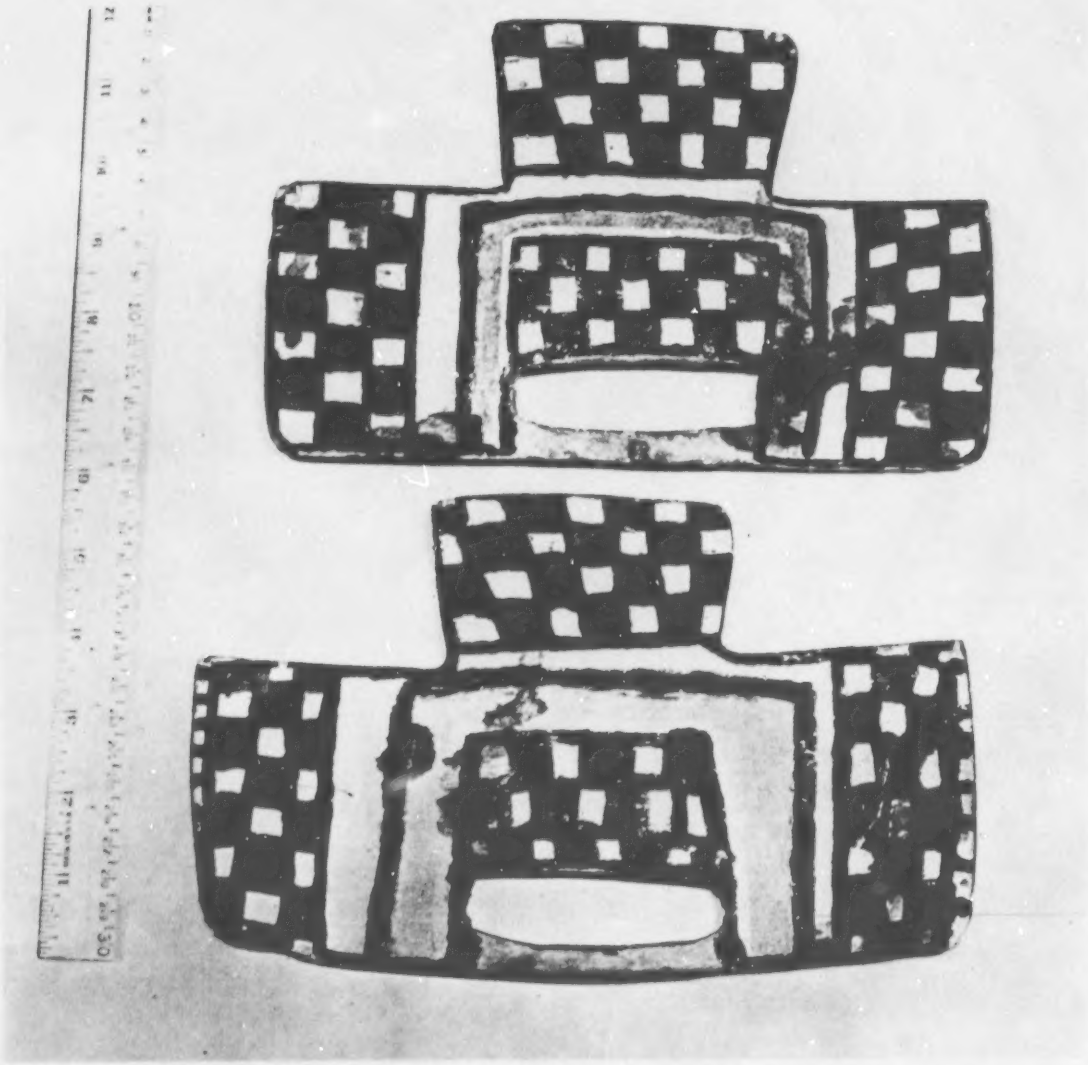


This hand tablito has rainbow guardians on either side of a cornstalk. Holes are drilled in each of the four corners. The tablito is 4-1/2 inches in diameter, and is exactly the same as those used in modern Navajo sandpaintings.



The design on the reverse side of the tablito shown above can no longer be discerned.

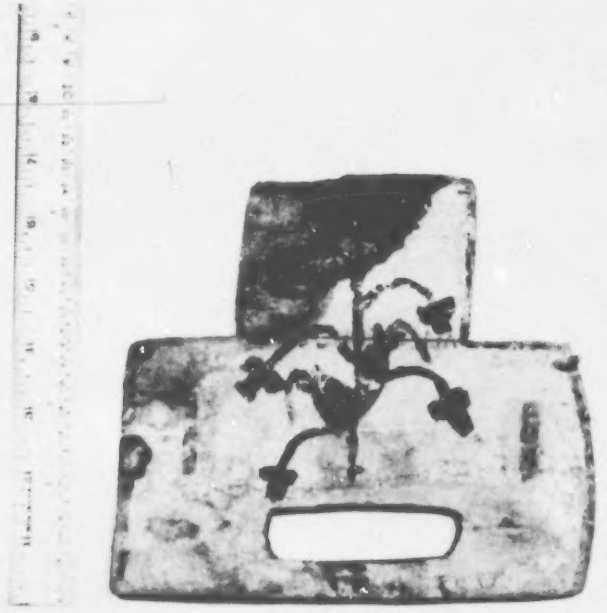
BEST COPY AVAILABLE



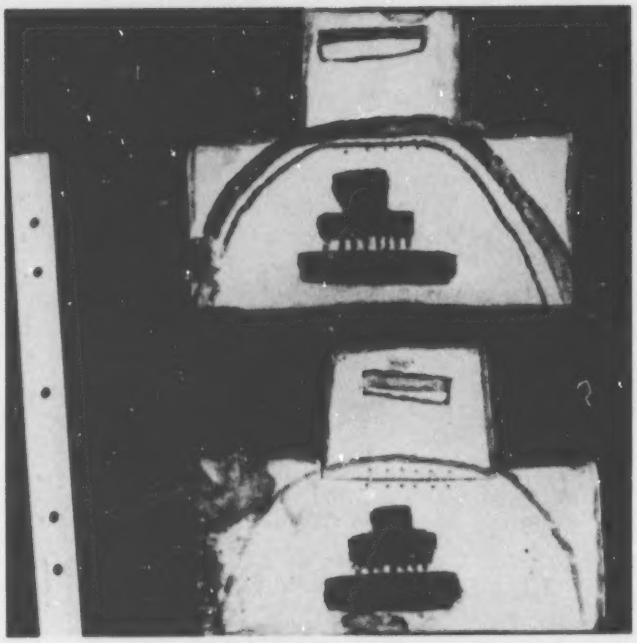
Two wooden hand tablitos have black and white designs which include interior rainbow figures. Each tablito is approximately 6 by 8 inches

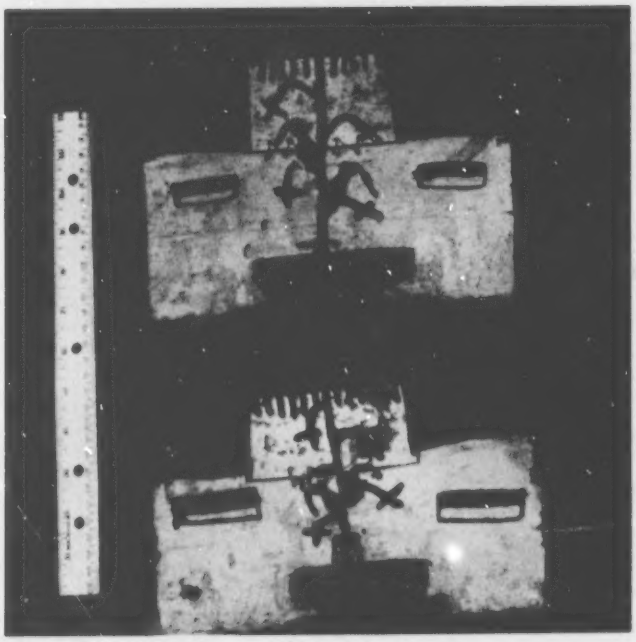
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The two pieces of this hand tablito are laced together with vegetal fiber threads. A rectangular hand-hold is cut out near the base. One face (bottom), is decorated with a black blossoming corn plant (?) flanked by red and blue rectangular elements on a white background. The other face is decorated around the sides with a wide red band and narrow black stripes; two rain cloud motifs are positioned in the center against a white background. Four small holes are drilled through the upper corners. All four corners contain fragments of cotton cordage.



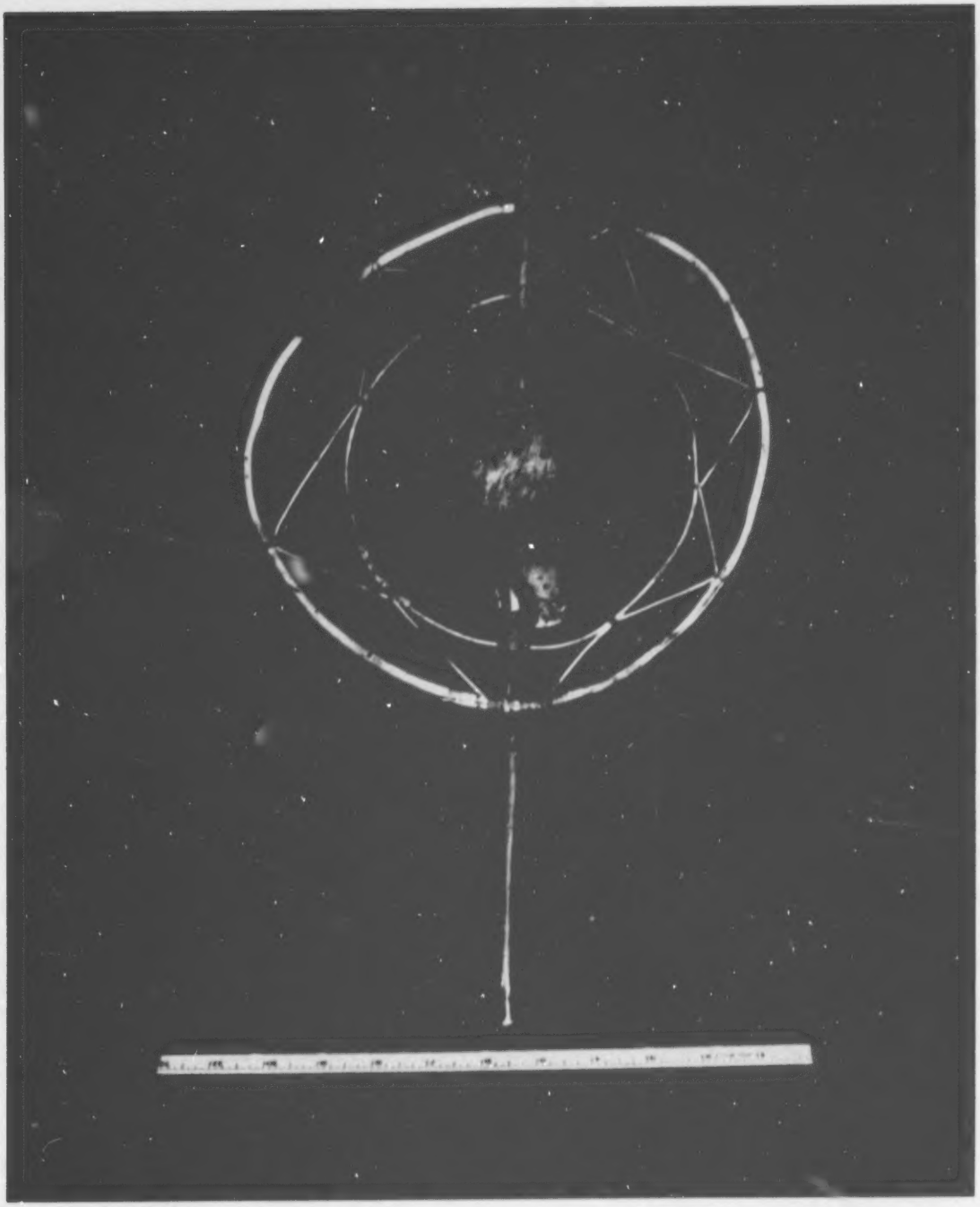
BEST COPY AVAILABLE





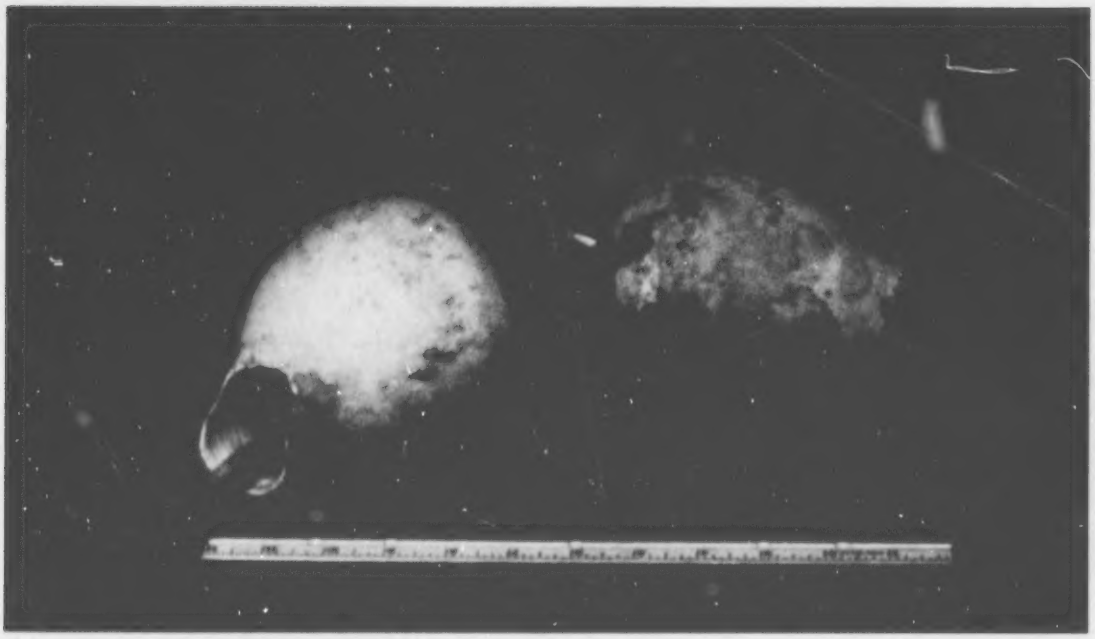
Another pair of hand tablitos has a terraced design. The tablitos consist of two wood pieces tied together with vegetal threads. One side (top) has a rainbow symbol on top with a larger curved rainbow below that runs the length of the tablito. A black terraced rain cloud appears in the lower center. The reverse side depicts clouds with rain descending over a stalk of corn. A rainbow appears on each side. The smaller tablito is 7 by 8-1/4 inches wide at its broadest point; the other is 7-1/4 by 8 inches wide at its broadest point.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Another view of the gourd rattle shown on p. 134. The wooden fragments surrounding the rattle are tied with vegetal fibers.

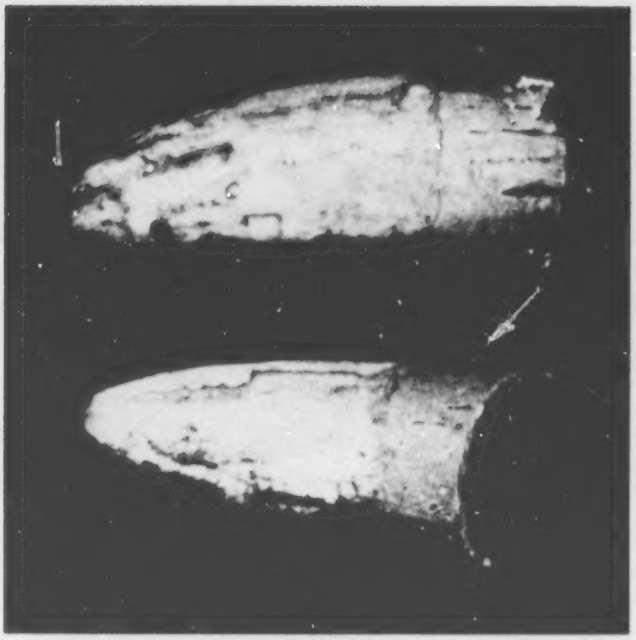
BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Two white gourd rattles (left) have stick handles.

The stick through this white gourd rattle shows a yucca fiber tie on top.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



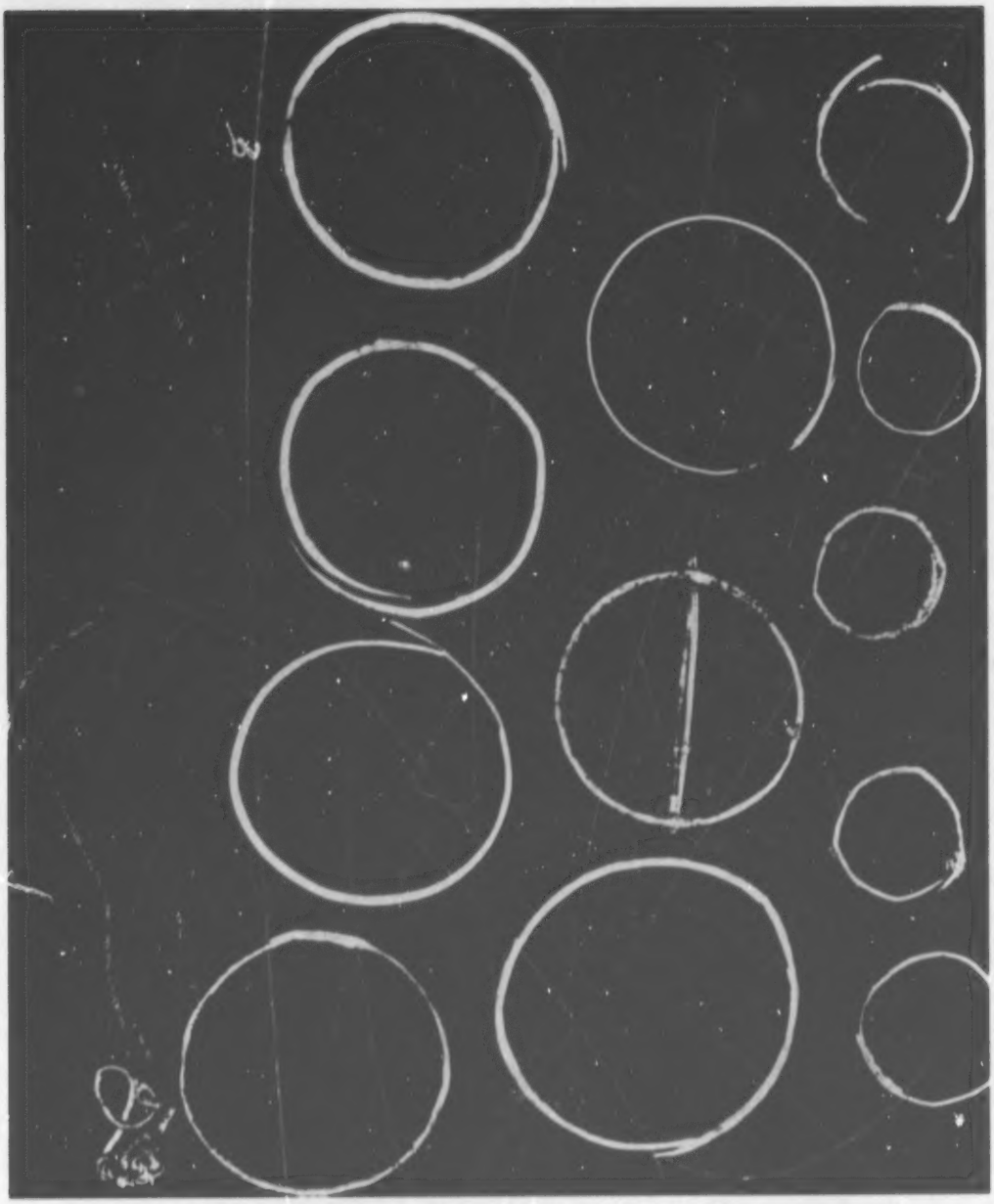
The largest mask beak is 3.4 inches long; the other is 2.7 inches long. The beaks have plain interiors, and are painted turquoise over most of the exterior surfaces. Tiny holes are drilled around the straight rims where the beaks were once attached to a mask.

This unpainted "open" beak (right), was carved from a gourd. A line of tiny holes is drilled around the rough edge where the beak attached to a mask.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

This crudely fashioned wooden bow is 41-3/8 inches long. The bark has been removed from the knotty, curved surface. Each end of the bow remains sharpened to a point. The bow is black on the outside, and the inside is painted in alternate bands of black and red.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Eleven sticks are bent into rings, one with an attached crosspiece. The latter is 5-1/4 inches in diameter. The ends of the stick are bound to opposite sides of the ring with sinew. Fragments of buckskin are knotted around this unusual wooden ring, which also shows traces of black and green paint.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

[1] John P. Harrington, "Southern Peripheral Athapaskan Origins, Divisions, and Migrations." *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* Vol. 100, Washington, D.C. (1940), p. 513.

[2] The Navajo Tribe has formally adopted the spelling, "Navajo," as a tribal designation. This spelling is utilized throughout the text, except where it appears otherwise in quotations and cited works.

[3] In particular, Talking God, First Man and First Woman.

CHAPTER TWO

[1] An exception is an excellent article by the Schaafsmas entitled, "Evidence for the Origins of the Pueblo Katchina Cult as Suggested by Southwestern Art." *American Antiquity* 39 (1974).

[2] An example is Francis Cassidy's, "Navajo Remains in New Mexico." *Pipeline Archaeology* (1956).

[3] An example is Frank Eddy's, "Culture Ecology and the Prehistory of the Navajo Reservoir District." *Southwestern Lore* (June-September, 1972).

[4] *E.g.*, Eddy's 1966 publication entitled *Prehistory in the Navajo Reservoir District, Northwestern New Mexico Parts I and II* (Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe), in many respects duplicates Dittert's 1958 publication on the same project, entitled "Salvage Archaeology and the Navajo Project: A Progress Report" (*El Palacio*, April 1958).

[5] A.V. Kidder, "Ruins of the Historic Period in the Upper San Juan Valley, New Mexico." *American Anthropologist* 22 (1920), pp. 322-329.

[6] Stanley Stubbs, "Survey of the Gobernador Region: Preliminary Report of General Characteristics of the Upper San Juan Area of Rio Arriba County in New Mexico." *El Palacio* Vol. 29 (1930), pp. 75-79.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[8] Frank Hibben, "Excavation of the Riana Ruin and Chama Valley Survey." *University of New Mexico Bulletin, Anthropological Series* Vol. 2 (1937).

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

[10] H.P. Mera, "Some Aspects of the Largo Cultural Phase, Northern New Mexico." *American Antiquity* Vol. 3 (1938).

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Roy L. Malcolm, "Archaeological Remains, Supposedly Navaho, from Chaco Canyon, New Mexico." *American Antiquity* Vol. 1 (1939), p. 4.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[17] Dorothy Louise Keur, *Big Bead Mesa: An Archaeological Study of Navaho Acculturation, 1745-1812*. Society for American Archaeology (1941).

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[21] Malcolm F. Farmer, "Navajo Archaeology of Upper Blanco and Largo Canyons, Northern New Mexico." *American Antiquity* Vol. 8 (1942), p. 65.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 77-79.

[24] B.H. Huscher and H.A. Huscher, "The Hogan Builders of Colorado." *The Southwestern Lore* (1943), pp. 5-92.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[26] Dorothy L. Keur, "A Chapter in Navaho-Pueblo Relations." *American Antiquity* Vol. 10 (1944), pp. 75-86.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

[29] Edward Twitchell Hall, Jr., *Early Stockaded Settlements in the Gobernador, New Mexico.* Columbia University Press, New York, NY (1944a).

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[33] Edward T. Hall, Jr., "Recent Clues to Athapascan Pre-History in the Southwest." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 46 (1944b), pp. 98-105.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[37] Richard Van Valkenburgh, "Big Bead Mesa - Where Campfires Burned In the Ancient Days." *Desert Magazine* (1945), pp. 4-8.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

[39] Malcolm F. Farmer, "Upper Largo Navaho -- 1770-1775." *The Kiva*, Vol. 122 (1947), pp. 15-23.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[41] The primary period addressed in this portion of Farmer's article is 1700 to 1775 A.D.

[42] Carroll L. Riley, "A Survey of Navajo Archaeology." *University of Colorado Studies in Anthropology* (1954).

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Lee H. Marmon and George C. Pearl, "A Fortified Site Near Ojo Del Padre: Big Bead Mesa Revisited." *El Palacio* (August, 1958).

[46] Big Bead Mesa is also referred to as Mesa Chivato.

[47] *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

[48] R. Gwinn Vivian, *The Navajo Archaeology of the Chacra Mesa, New Mexico.* M.A. Thesis on file at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, (1960).

[49] Those traits marked by an asterisk (*) are Navajo developments distinct from Pueblo traits and influence. Those items not so marked represent basic Pueblo traits acquired by the Navajos through trade, or brought by Pueblosns into the Navajo area.

[50] *Op. cit.*, p. 210.

[51] Polly Schaafsma, "Rock Art of the Navajo Reservoir." *El Palacio* Vol. 69 (1962).

[52] _____, *Rock Art of the Navajo Reservoir District.* Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (1963).

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[54] James J. Hester, *Early Navajo Migrations and Acculturations in the Southwest.* Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (1962).

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[56] James J. Hester and Joel L. Shiner, *Studies at Navajo Period Sites In the Navajo Reservoir District.* Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (1963).

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[58] Bryant Bannister, *Tree-Ring Dating of the Archaeological Sites in the Chaco Canyon Region, New Mexico.* Southwestern Monuments Association (1965).

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-163.

[60] *Ibid.*, pp. 154-155.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[62] *Ibid.*

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

[64] Roy L. Carlson, *Eighteenth Century Navajo Fortresses of the Gobernador District.* University of Colorado Press, Boulder (1965)

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

[67] Frank W. Eddy, *Prehistory in the Navajo Reservoir District, Northwestern New Mexico,* Vols. I and II. Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (1966).

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 507.

[69] M.A. Stokes and T.L. Smiley, "Tree-Ring Dates from the Navajo Land Claim I. The Northern Sector." *Tree-Ring Bulletin* (1966a).

70 _____ "Tree-Ring Dates from the Navajo Land Claim. The Eastern Sector." *The Tree-Ring Bulletin (1969)*.

71 _____ "Tree-Ring Dates from the Navajo Land Claim III. The Southern Sector." *The Tree-Ring Bulletin* Vol. 27 (1966b).

72 David Stahle, "Navajo Archaeology In Light Of LA-2298." Unpublished manuscript on file at the University of Arizona, Tucson (1973).

73 John P. Wilson and A.H. Warren, "LA-2298: The Earliest Pueblito?" *Awanyu* (1974).

74 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

75 *Ibid.*

76 William J. Robinson, Bruce G. Harrill and Richard L. Warren, *Tree-Ring Dates From New Mexico, B-Chaco-Gobernador Area*. Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, University of Arizona, Tucson (1974).

77 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

78 Curtis Schaafsma, *Archaeological Survey and Excavations at Abiquiu Reservoir, Rio Arriba County, New Mexico*. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM (1975).

_____ *Navajo Excavations at Abiquiu Reservoir, Rio Arriba County, New Mexico*. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM (1976).

_____ *Archaeological Survey of Maximum Pool and Navajo Excavations at Abiquiu Reservoir*. National Park Service (1976).

_____ *The Cerrito Site (AR-4): A Piedra Lumbre Phase Settlement at Abiquiu Reservoir*. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM (1978).

_____ "Archaeological Studies in the Abiquiu Reservoir District." *Discovery* (1978).

79 _____ *Navajo Excavations at Abiquiu Reservoir, Rio Arriba County, New Mexico*. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM (1976), p. 206.

80 _____ *The Cerrito Site (AR-4): A Piedra Lumbre Phase Settlement at Abiquiu Reservoir*. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM (1978), p. 249.

81 E. Charles Adams, "Locations of Some Navajo Refugee Period Sites in Southwest Colorado." *Awanyu* (1976).

82 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

83 Charles A. Reher, *Settlement and Subsistence Along the Lower Chaco River: The CGP Survey*. University of New Mexico, Albuquerque (1977).

84 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

85 Harry Hadlock, "A Brief Summary of the Archaeology of Crow and Largo Canyons." *Collected Papers In Honor Of Bertha Pauline Dutton*. Archaeological Society of New Mexico (1979).

86 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

87 Among the excellent and complete books prepared by the Hadlocks are the following: *Rock Art Survey: Largo Canyon*. Vols. I and II. *Rock Art and Prehistoric Sites in Encierro Canyon; Rock Art Survey: Crow Canyon; Rock Art Survey: Cebola Canyon; Rock Art Survey: Carrizo Canyon; Rock Art Survey: Blanco Canyon; Rock Art Survey: Jesus and Delgadito Canyons*.

88 At least three claims attorneys have represented the Navajo Tribe in this effort.

89 J. Lee Correll, *Report on the Tree-Ring Data Pertaining to the Navajo Tribe*. Unpublished manuscript on file with the Navajo Tribe, Window Rock, AZ (1958). *Cf.* David F. Brugge, *Late Occupation in the Vicinity of Quemado, New Mexico*. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ (1968), pp. 28-33.

92 J. Lee Correll, *Through White Man's Eyes: A Contribution to Navajo History* Vol. 1. Navajo Heritage Center, Window Rock, AZ (1976).

93 *Ibid*

94 Navajo Land Claims Case, *Burning and Stone Axe Felling: Analysis*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

95 Navajo Land Claims Case, *Ash Dump and Hogan Diameter: Analysis*, and *Hogan Diameters*. Unpublished and undated manuscripts on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

96 Navajo Land Claims Case, *Game Corrals: Analysis*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

97 Navajo Land Claims Case, *Site Inventory*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

98 J.O. Brew, "Transition to History in the Pueblo Southwest." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 56 (1954), p. 601.

CHAPTER THREE

[1] This report has been edited from an unpublished document prepared by Dr. George Hammond in 1955 for the Navajo Land Claims case. In quotations from early accounts (*e.g.*, those of Spanish chronicles), the spellings for Navajo and other tribal names remain as they are recorded in the original text.

[2] From W.W. Hill, "Some Navaho Culture Changes During Two Centuries (With a Translation of the Early Eighteenth Century Rabal Manuscripts)," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Washington, D.C. (1940), pp. 395-415. (Footnotes to the *Rabal Document* appear in Hill, but have been edited and renumbered here to follow the style and sequence of notes in this chapter.)

[3] Santa Rosa de Lima is located two miles below Abiquiu, New Mexico, on the right bank of the Chama River. (See Hibben, 1937.)

[4] This appears to be the earliest (1706-1743) group of references to weaving among the Navajos. Charles Amsden (1943, p. 130) lists 1780 as the earliest historic reference available at the time he wrote. However, he was aware of the existence of the present manuscript, and correctly infers that it contains an earlier dating.

[5] The word "*jicaxa*" or "*jicara*" (translated "basket" in this publication) has had several varying connotations at different periods during the Spanish occupation of the New World (e.g., "basket," "gourd," or "pottery"). Dr. L.B. Kiddle of Princeton University, who has conducted considerable research on Spanish provincialisms in New Mexico, carefully checked the literature for the meaning of this word during the period under discussion, and determined that the correct translation is "basket." This is further substantiated by the fact that the Pueblo Indians have always been superior potters and agriculturalists and would not find it necessary to augment their supply of pots or gourds through trade.

[6] The word "Lemitas" in the manuscript probably refers to "*Rhus trilobata*" or possibly "*Schmaltzia bakeri*." Both were known by this name and both were utilized by the Navajos in the manufacture of baskets. This is added substantiation for the translation of *jicara* as "basket" rather than "gourd" or "pottery."

[7] This corrects the author's statement regarding warfare between the Navajos and the Utes, Comanches and Mexicans. (See Hill 1936.)

[8] This is not the present Chama but a village of that name, now in ruins, located on the north side of the Chama River, a little downstream from the confluence with El Rito Creek.

[9] These three streams form the headwaters of the Chama: Nutrias Creek from the north, Gallinas Creek from the northwest, and Coyote Creek from the west.

[10] The San Juan River was known during this period as the Rio Grande de Navaho. The manuscript's references to the Rio Grande refer to the San Juan River, not the Rio Grande to the east and south.

[11] The Santa Cruz del Ojo Caliente referred to here is probably the present town of Ojo Caliente, located on Ojo Caliente Creek.

[12] The word "cuescomates" is from the Aztec *cuezcomates*, "corn bins." For a description of this type of storage pit among the Navajos, see Hill 1938, pp. 43-46.

[13] The Piedra Alumbre Grant lies on either side of the Chama River beginning about 10 miles northwest of the town of Abiquiu, New Mexico. The Piedra Alumbre proper is at the point where the Rio Puerco enters the Chama River.

[14] The present town of Santa Cruz, New Mexico, is located about 20 miles north of Santa Fe.

[15] For a description of wooden farming implements of the Navajos, see Hill 1936, pp. 32-36.

[16] This probably refers to the Comanches, but may refer to one of the Ute bands.

[17] The droughts referred to are probably those that were general to the Southwest between 1727 and 1737.

[18] The reference to cotton textiles undoubtedly refers to trade articles from the Pueblos. The Navajos do not raise cotton, were not importing cotton from the Spaniards at this time, and have always depended on outside sources for this product.

[19] The De los Grullas referred to is probably the district of La Grullas in Rio Arriba County, New Mexico (or a part of the San Juan Mountains in Archuleta and Conejos Counties, southwestern Colorado).

[20] This is the district lying about 10 miles west of the town of Abiquiu.

[21] George P. Hammond, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico 1580-1594*. Coronado Historical Fund, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque (1966), p. 195.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

[24] Luxan's description of a "mountain people" who abandoned their camps and "fled from us" suggests that this is exactly the tactic taken by the Navajos.

[25] John P. Wilson and A.H. Warren, "LA-2298: The Earliest Pueblito?" *Awanyu* (1974). See also William J. Robinson, Bruce G. Harrill and Richard L. Warren, *Tree Ring Dates From New Mexico, B-Chaco-Gobernador Area*. Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, University of Arizona, Tucson (1974).

[26] E.g., Curtis Schaafsma, *Archaeological Survey and Excavations at Abiquiu Reservoir, Rio Arriba County, New Mexico*. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM (1976).

CHAPTER FOUR

[1] Katherine Spencer, *Reflection of Social Life in the Navaho Origin Myth*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque (1947).

[2] _____, *Mythology and Values: An Analysis of Navaho Chantway Myths*. American Folklore Society (1957).

[3] Washington Matthews, *Navaho Legends*. American Folklore Society (1897).

[4] *E.g.*, Benavides' obviously distorted account, which cites the early Navajos as numbering "more than two hundred thousand souls."

[5] The Navajos are described throughout much of the origin mythology as a wandering people who, although they planted corn and a few other crops, moved fairly often and covered a large territory.

[6] Washington Matthews, *Navaho Legends*. American Folklore Society (1897), p. 137.

[7] In his discussion of *Natinesthani* ("He Who Teaches Himself"), Matthews describes the clothing of this culture hero: "His sandals, made of grass and yucca fibre, were worn through, and the blanket made of yucca-fibre and cedar-bark, which covered his back, was ragged." (*Ibid.*, p. 239.)

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Spencer uses the term "chiefs," although a more meaningful translation would be "headmen."

[11] Katherine Spencer, *Mythology and Values: An Analysis of Navaho Chantway Myths*. American Folklore Society (1957).

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER FIVE

[1] Washington Matthews, *Navajo Legends*. American Folklore Society (1897), p. 137.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 195-208.

[4] Bryant Bannister, *Tree-Ring Dating of the Archaeological Sites in the Chaco Canyon Region, New Mexico*. Southwestern Monument Association (1965), p. 201.

[5] Gordon Vivian and Tom W. Matthews, *Kin Kletso, A Pueblo III Community In Chaco Canyon, New Mexico*. Southwestern Monuments Association (1965), p. 30.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] J. Lee Correll, *Through White Man's Eyes: A Contribution to Navajo History*, Vol. I. Navajo Heritage Center, Window Rock, AZ (1976), p. 1.

[8] C. Melvin Aikens, *Fremont-Promontory-Plains Relationships*. University of Utah, Logan (1966), p. 87.

[9] J. Loring Haskell, *The Navajo in the Eighteenth Century: An Investigation Involving Anthropological Archaeology in the San Juan Basin, Northwestern New Mexico*. Doctoral Dissertation, Washington State University, (1975), p. 33.

[10] Jack Forbes, "The Early Western Apache 1300-1700," *Journal of the West* (July 1966), *pp. 338-339*.

[11] _____ *Apache, Navaho and Spaniard*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman (1960), p. xxi.

[12] Donald Worchester, *Early History of the Navaho Indians*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of California (1947), p. 8.

[13] *Ibid*., p. 16.

[14] Edward Danson, *Archaeological Survey of West Central New Mexico and East Central Arizona*. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (1957), p. 117.

[15] Edward Hall, Jr., "Recent Clues to Athapascan Pre-history in the Southwest." *American Anthropologist*, No. 46 (1944), p. 105.

[16] George P. Hammond, *The Rediscovery of New Mexico 1580-1594*. Coronado Historical Fund, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque (1966), pp. 200-201.

[17] W.W. Hill, *The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians*. Yale University Press (1939), p. 189.

[18] *Ibid*., p. 190.

[19] Curtis Schaafsma, *The Cerrito Site (AR-4): A Piedra Lumbre Phase Settlement at Abiquiu Reservoir*. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM (1978), p. 249.

[20] *Ibid*., p. 198.

[21] Harry Hoijer, "The Chronology of the Athapaskan Languages." *The International Journal of American Linguistics*. Vol. 22, (October 1956), p. 232.

[22] Dell Hymes, "A Note On Athapaskan Glottochronology." *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 23, (1957).

[23] James Hester, *Early Navajo Migrations and Acculturations in the Southwest*. Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (1962), p. 82.

[24] It is not the author's purpose to embrace all the early Land Claims dates as accurate; the fact remains, however, that they have not been addressed by archaeologists and so are unrefuted.

[25] James Hester and Joel Shiner, *Studies at Navajo Period Sites in the Navajo Reservoir District*. Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (1963), p. 4.

[26] Dorothy L. Keur, *Big Bead Mesa: An Archaeological Study of Navaho Acculturation, 1745-1812*. Society for American Archaeology (1941), p. 68.

[27] James Hester, *Op. cit., p. 62*.

[28] *Ibid*.

[29] *Ibid*.

[30] David Brugge, *Late Occupation in the Vicinity of Quemado, New Mexico*. Unpublished manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ (1968).

[31] J.O. Brew, "Transition to History in the Pueblo Southwest," *American Anthropologist* Vol. 56 (1954), pp. 599-603.

CHAPTER SEVEN

[1] Different individuals are credited with finding the cave and its contents. Carl Halloway and Clifford Abbott are both mentioned.

REFERENCES

Adams, E. Charles. "Locations of Some Navajo Refugee Period Sites In Southwestern Colorado." *Awanyu* (June 1976).

Aikens, C. Melvin. *Fremont-Promontory-Plains Relationships.* University of Utah, Logan (1966).

_____. "Plains Relationships of the Fremont Culture: A Hypothesis." *American Antiquity* Vol. 32 (1967).

Amsden, Charles. "Navaho Origins." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 8 (1932).

Bancroft, Hubert H. *History of Arizona and New Mexico 1530-1888* Vol. 17. The History Co. (1889).

Bannister, Bryant. *Tree-Ring Dating of the Archaeological Sites In the Chaco Canyon Region, New Mexico.* Southwestern Monuments Association (1965).

Bartlett, Katherine. "Why the Navajos Came to Arizona." *Museum Notes* Vol. 5, No. 6. Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff (1932).

Basso, Keith H. and Morris E. Opler. *Apachean Culture History and Ethnology.* University of Arizona Press, Tucson (1971).

Beers, Henry Putney. *Spanish and Mexican Records of the American Southwest.* University of Arizona Press, Tucson (1979).

Boas, Franz. "Northern Elements In the Mythology of the Navaho." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 10 (1897).

Bourke, John G. "Notes and News: The Early Navajo and Apache." *American Anthropologist Vol. 8 (1895).*

Brew, J.O. "Transition To History In the Pueblo Southwest." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 56 (1954).

Britt, Claude Jr. "An Old Navajo Trail With Associated Petroglyph Trail Marker, Canyon de Chelly, Arizona." *Plateau* Vol. 46 (1973).

Brugge, David M. *Navajo Pottery and Ethnohistory.* Navajoland Publications, Window Rock, AZ (1963).

_____. "Pueblo Influence On Navajo Architecture." *El Palacio* (Autumn 1968).

_____. *Navajos In the Catholic Church Records.* Navajo Tribal Museum, Window Rock, AZ (1968).

_____ *Late Occupation In the Vicinity of Quemado, New Mexico.* Unpublished manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ (1968).

_____ "Pueblo Factionalism and External Relations." *Ethnohistory* Vol. 16 (1969).

_____ "The Horse In Navajo Rock Art." *Awanyu* Vol. 4 (Dec. 1976).

_____ "The Yeii Or Holy People In Navajo Rock Art." *Awanyu* Vol. 5 (Sept. (1977).

_____ *A History of the Chaco Navajos.* National Park Service Reports of the Chaco Center (1980).

Calton, Harold S. "Did the So-Called Cliff Dwellers of Central Arizona Also Build Hogans?" *American Anthropologist* Vol. 33 (1931).

Carlson, Roy L. *Eighteenth Century Navajo Fortresses of the Gobernador District.* University of Colorado Press, Boulder (1965).

Cassidy, Francis E. "Navajo Remains in New Mexico." *Pipeline Archaeology* (1956).

Castleton, Kenneth B. *Petroglyphs and Pictographs of Utah. Vol. I: The East and Northeast.* Utah Museum of Natural History (1978).

Colton, Marry Russell and Harold S. Colton. "Petroglyphs, the Records of a Great Adventure." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 33 (1931).

Correll, J. Lee. *Report on the Tree-Ring Date Pertaining To the Navajo Land Claim.* Unpublished manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims office, Window Rock, AZ (1958).

_____ *Through White Men's Eyes. A Contribution to Navajo History,* Vol. 1. Navajo Heritage Center, Window Rock, Arizona (1976).

Danson, Edward B. "An Archaeological Survey of West Central New Mexico and East Central Arizona. *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology* (1957).

Davis, Emma Lou. "Small Pressures and Cultural Drift As Explanations For Abandonment of the San Juan Area, New Mexico and Arizona." *American Antiquity* Vol. 32 (1957).

Dean, Jeffery S. "Dendrochronology and Archaeological Analysis: A Possible Ute Escape From Southwestern Colorado." *Southwestern Lore* Vol. 35 (1969).

DeHoff, Sue. "Medicine Man Cave Excavation." *Awanyu* Vol. 5 (March 1977).

Dittert, Alfred, Jr. "Salvage Archaeology and the Navajo Project: A Progress Report." *El Palacio* (Dec. 1958).

Dittert, Alfred Jr., Jim Hester and Frank Eddy. *An Archaeological Survey of the Navajo Reservoir District, Northwestern New Mexico.* School of American Research and the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (1961).

Eddy, Frank W. *Prehistory In the Navajo Reservoir District, Northwestern New Mexico.* Parts I and II. Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (1966).

_____ "Culture Ecology and the Prehistory of the Navajo Reservoir District." *Southwestern Lore* (June-Sept. 1972).

_____ "Population Dislocation In the Navajo Reservoir District, New Mexico and Colorado." *American Antiquity* Vol. 39 (1974).

Ellis, Florence H. *Navajo Indians I: An Anthropological Study of the Navajo Indians.* Garland Publishing Co. (1974).

Espinosa, J. Manuel. *Crusaders of the Rio Grande: The Story of Don Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest and Refunding of New Mexico.* Documentary Publications (1977).

Farmer, Malcolm F. "Navajo Archaeology of Upper Blanco and Largo Canyons, Northern New Mexico." *American Antiquity* Vol. 8 (1942).

_____ "Upper Largo Navaho--1770-1775." *The Kiva* Vol. 12 (1947).

Forbes, Jack D. *Apache, Navaho and Spaniard.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman (1960).

_____ "The Early Western Apache 1300-1700." *Journal of the West* Vol. 3 (1966).

Franciscan Fathers. *An Ethnological Dictionary of the Navajo Language.* St. Michaels Mission, St. Michaels, AZ (1910).

Gebhard, David. "Prehistoric Paintings of the Diablo Region: A Preliminary Report." *Publications In Art and Science* No. 3 (1960).

Goddard, Pling Earle. *Navajo Texts.* American Museum of Natural History, New York, NY (1933).

Grant, Campbell. *Canyon de Chelly: Its People and Rock Art.* University of Arizona Press, Tucson (1978).

Green, Roger C. "The Hormigos Site of the Largo-Gallina Phase." *El Palacio* (1962).

Green, Roger C., Maryanne Atherton Danfelser and R. Gwinn Vivian. "Interpretation of Bg 91:

A Specialized Largo-Gallina Surface Structure." *El Palacio* Vol. 65 (April 1958).

Gunnerson, Delores A. "The Southern Athabascans: Their Arrival In the Southwest." *El Palacio* (Nov.-Dec. 1956).

Gunnerson, James H. "Apache Archaeology In Northeastern New Mexico." *American Antiquity* Vol. 34 (1969).

Hackett, Charles Wilson. *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico* (two vols.). University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque (1942).

Hackett, Charles Wilson (ed.). *Historical Documents Relating To New Mexico, Nuevo Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773* (three vols.). Carnegie Institution of Washington (1937).

Hadlock, Harry. "Surface Surveys of Lithic Sites on the Gallegos Wash." *El Palacio* (1962).

_____. "A Brief Summary of the Archaeology of Crow and Largo Canyons." *Collected Papers In Honor of Bertha Pauline Dutton*, Archaeological Society of New Mexico (1979).

Hadlock, Harry and Sally Hadlock. *Rock Art Survey: Largo Canyon* Vol. I Unpublished manuscript (1967).

_____ *Rock Art Survey: Largo Canyon* Vol. II. Unpublished manuscript (1968).

_____ *Rock Art Survey: Crow Canyon.* Unpublished manuscript (1971).

_____ *Rock Art and Prehistoric Site In Encierro Canyon.* Unpublished manuscript (1972).

_____ *Rock Art Survey: Cibola Canyon.* Unpublished manuscript (1975).

_____ *Rock Art Survey: Carrizo Canyon.* Unpublished manuscript (1977).

_____ *Rock Art Survey: Blanco Canyon.* Unpublished manuscript (1978).

_____ *Rock Art Survey: Jesus Canyon and Delgadito Canyon.* Unpublished manuscript (1981).

Haile, Father Berard. *Origin Legend of the Navaho Enemy Way.* Yale University Press (1938).

_____. *Origin Legend of the Navaho Flintway.* University of Chicago Publications In Anthropology (1943).

Hall, Edward Twitchell, Jr. *Early Stockaded Settlements In the Gobernador, New Mexico.* Columbia University Press, New York, NY (1944a).

_____. "Recent Clues To Athapascan Pre-history In the Southwest." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 46 (1944b).

Hammond, George P. *The Spanish Period In Navajo History, 1540-1821.* Unpublished manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ (1955).

_____. *The Rediscovery of New Mexico 1580-1594. The Explorations of Chamuscado, Espejo, Costano de Sosa, Morlete and Leyva de Bonilla and Humana.* Coronado Historical Fund, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque (1966).

Harmon, Robert Charles. *Navaho Culture Changes As Reflected In the Enemy Way Ceremonial.* M.A. Thesis, University of Arizona, Tucson (1964).

Harrington, John P. "Southern Peripheral Athapaskan Origins, Divisions and Migrations." *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* Vol. 100, Washington, D.C. (1940).

Haskell, John L. *The Navajo In the Eighteenth Century: An Investigation Involving Anthropological Archaeology In the San Juan Basin, Northwestern New Mexico.* Doctoral Dissertation, Washington State University (1975).

Haury, Emil. *Painted Cave, Northeastern New Mexico.* Amerind Foundation (1945).

Heizer, Robert F. and Martin Baunhoff. *Prehistoric Rock Art of Nevada and Eastern California.* University of California Press (1962).

Hester, James J. "An Ethnohistoric Reconstruction of Navajo Culture 1582-1824. *El Palacio* Vol. 69 (1962a).

_____. *Early Navajo Migrations and Acculturations In the Southwest.* Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (1962b).

Hester, James J. and Joel L. Shiner. *Studies At Navajo Period Sites In the Navajo Reservoir District.* Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (1963).

Hibben, Frank. "Excavation of the Riana Ruin and Chama Valley Survey." *University of New Mexico Anthropological Series* Vol. 2 (1937).

_____. "The Gallina Phase." *American Antiquity* Vol. 2 (1938).

_____. "The Pottery of the Gallina Complex." *American Antiquity* Vol. 3 (1949).

Hill, W.W. *The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians.* Yale University Press (1938).

_____. "Some Navaho Culture Changes During Two Centuries (With a

Translation of the Early Eighteenth Century Rabal Manuscript)." *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* Vol. 100, Washington, D.C. (1940).

Hodge, Fredrick Webb. "The Early Navajo and Apache." *American Anthropologist* (July 1895).

Hodge, Fredrick W., George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque (1945).

Hoijer, Harry. "The Southern Athapaskan Languages." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 40 (1938).

_____. "The Chronology of the Athapaskan Languages." *International Journal of American Linguistics* Vol. 22 (Oct. 1956).

Honigman, John J. "Northern and Southern Athapaskan Eschatalogy." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 47 (1945).

Huscher, Betty H. and Harold A. Huscher. "Potsherds From a Piñon Tree." *The Master Key* Vol. 14 (1940).

_____. "Athapaskan Migration Via the Intermountain Region." *American Antiquity* Vol. 1 (1942).

_____. "The Hogan Builders of Colorado." *The Southwestern Lore* (1943).

Hymes, Dell H. "A Note on Athapaskan Glottochronology." *International Journal of American Linguistics* Vol. 23 (1957).

Jenkins, Myra Ellen, Ward Alan Minge and Frank D. Reeve. *Navajo Indians II*. Garland Publishing Co. (1974).

Jett, Stephen C. "Pueblo Indian Migration: An Evaluation of the Possible Physical and Cultural Determinants." *American Antiquity* Vol. 24 (1964).

_____. "The Origin of Navajo Settlement Patterns." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* Vol. 68 (Sept. 1978).

Jones, Charles D. III and Alexander J. Lindsay, Jr. "Ethnoarchaeological Research At Canyon del Muerto, Arizona: A Navajo Example." *Ethnohistory* Vol. 20 (1973).

Kaut, Charles R. *The Western Apache Clan System: Its Origin and Development*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque (1957).

Kemrer, Meade Francis. *The Dynamics of Western Navajo Settlement, A.D. 1750-1900: An Archaeological and Dendrochronological Analysis*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Arizona, Tucson (1974).

Keur, Dorothy Louise. *Big Bead Mesa: An Archaeological Study of Navaho Acculturation 1745-1812*. Society For American Archaeology (1941).

_____. "A Chapter In Navaho-Pueblo Relations." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 10 (1944).

Kidder, A.V. "Ruins of the Historic Period In the Upper San Juan Valley, New Mexico." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 22 (1920).

Kroeber, A.L. "Reflections and Tests On Athabascan Glottochronology." *Ethnographic Interpretations, 8, University of California Publications In American Archaeology and Ethnology* Vol. 47 (1959).

Lange, Charles H. "The Evans Site and the Archaeology of the Gallina Region, New Mexico." *El Palacio* (March 1956).

Libo, Lester M. "A Psychologist Looks At Pictographs." *El Palacio* Vol. 69 (1962).

Lingren, Raymond E. (ed.). "A Diary of Kit Carson's Navaho Campaign." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 11 (1946).

Magers, Pamela Carroll. *Navajo Settlements In Canyon del Muerto*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Arizona, Tucson (1976).

Malcolm, Roy L. "Archaeological Remains, Supposedly Navaho, From Chaco Canyon, New Mexico." *American Antiquity* Vol. 4 (1939).

Marino, C.C. "The Seboyetanos and the Navajos." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 29 (1954).

Marmon, Lee H. and George Clayton Pearl. "A Fortified Site Near Ojo del Padre: Big Bead Mesa Revisited." *El Palacio* (August 1958).

Martineau, LaVan. *The Rocks Begin To Speak*. KC Publications (1973).

Matthews, Washington. "The Gentile System of the Navajo Indians." *Journal of American Folklore* Vol. 3 (April-June 1890)

_____. *Navaho Legends*. American Folklore Society (1897).

McNitt, Frank. *Navajo Wars: Military Campaigns, Slave Raids and Reprisals*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque (1972).

Mead, George R. *Rock Art North of the Mexican American Border: An Annotated Bibliography*. Museum of Anthropology, Colorado State College, Greeley (1968).

Meighan, Clement and V.L. Pontoni. *Seven Rock Art Sites in Baja, California*. Ballena Press (1978).

Mera, H.P. "Some Aspects of the Largo Cultural Phase, Northern New Mexico." *American Antiquity* Vol. 3 (1938).

Miller, Jay. "The Wooden Idols of Benavides." *Awanyu* Vol. 2 (June 1974).

Minton, Charles. *Juan of Santa Nino*. Sunshine Press (1973).

Navajo Land Claims. *Summary of Tree-Ring Dates: Northern, Eastern, Western and Southern Sectors*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

_____ *Burning and Stone Axe Felling: Analysis*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

_____ *Ash Dump and Hogan Diameter: Analysis*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

_____ *Hogan Diameters*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

_____ *Game Corrals: Analysis*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

_____ *Site Inventory*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

_____ *Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research Reports and Dated Wood Specimens*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

_____ *Site Reports and Photographs: Northern Sector -- San Juan Basin Area*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

_____ *Site Reports and Photographs: Rio Puerco Area -- Upper Puerco and Nacimento Subareas*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

_____ *Site Reports and Photographs: Northern Sector -- Middle San Juan Area*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

_____ *Site Reports and Photographs: Eastern Sector -- Gallegos Canyon and Chaco Canyon Areas*. Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

_____ *Site Reports and Photographs: Eastern Sector -- Rio Puerco Area*

(Middle Puerco Subarea). Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock,AZ.

_____ *Site Reports and Photographs: Northern Sector -- Lower San Juan Area (McElmo Creek Subarea).* Undated and unpublished manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

_____ *Site Reports and Photographs: Eastern Sector of Rio Puerco Area -- Cebolleta Mesa, Mesa del Oro, Upper San Jose, San Mateo, and Lower Puerco Subareas.* Unpublished and undated manuscript on file at the Navajo Land Claims Office, Window Rock, AZ.

Newcomb, Franc and Gladys Reichard. *Sandpaintings of the Navajo Shooting Chant.* J.J. Augustine, New York, NY (1937).

Newcomb, Franc, Stanley Fishler and Mary Wheelwright. *A Study of Navajo Symbolism.* Peabody Museum (1956).

Olin, Caroline B. "Fringed Mouth, Navajo Ye'ii." *Collected Papers In Honor of Bertha Pauline Dutton,* ed. by Alfred Schroeder. *Papers by the Archaeological Society of New Mexico* (1979).

Parsons, Elsie Clews. *Pueblo Indian Religion* (two vols.). University of Chicago Press (1939).

Prudden, T. Mitchell. "The Prehistoric Ruins of the San Juan Watershed In Utah, Arizona Colorado, and New Mexico." *American Anthropologist (1903).*

Reed, Erick. "The Abandonment of the San Juan Region." *El Palacio* Vol. 51 (1944).

_____ "The Dinétxa Tradition and Pre-Spanish Navajo Distribution." *Plateau* Vol. 17 (1945).

Reeve, Frank D. "The Federal Indian Policy In New Mexico 1858-1880, II, The Bosque Redondo." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 12 (Jan. 1938).

_____ "The Government and the Navaho 1878-1883." *New Mexico Historical Review* (July 1941).

_____ "The Government and the Navaho 1883-1888." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 18 (Jan. 1943).

_____ "A Navaho Struggle For Land." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 21 (Jan 1946).

_____ "Early Navaho Geography." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 31 (1956).

_____ "Seventeenth Century Navaho-Spanish Relations." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 32 (1957).

_____. "Navaho-Spanish Wars 1680-1720." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 33 (1958).

_____. "The Navaho-Spanish Period 1720s-1770s." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 34 (1959).

_____. "Navaho-Spanish Diplomacy 1770-1790." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 35 (1960).

_____. "Navaho Foreign Affairs, 1795-1846. Introduction." *New Mexico Historical Review* (April 1971).

_____. "Navaho Foreign Affairs 1795-1846, Part II. 1816-1824." *New Mexico Historical Review* (July 1971).

Reher, Charles. *Settlement and Subsistence Along the Lower Chaco Canyon: The CGP Survey*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque (1977).

Riley, Carroll L. "A Survey of Navajo Archaeology." *University of Colorado Studies In Anthropology* (1954).

Robinson, William, Bruce Harrill and Richard Warren. *Tree-Ring Dates From New Mexico, B-Chaco-Gobernador Area*. Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research, University of Arizona, Tucson (1974).

Roessel, Ruth. *Navajo Studies At Navajo Community College*. Navajo Community College Press, Tsaile, AZ (1971).

Ruppé, R.J. and A.E. Dittert, Jr. "The Archaeology of Cebolleta Mesa and Acoma Pueblo: A Preliminary Report Based on Further Investigation." *El Palacio* Vol. 59 (July 1982).

Sapir, Edward. "International Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho." American Anthropologist Vol. 38 (1936).

_____ *Navaho Texts*. Linguistic Society of America (1942).

Schaafsma, Curtis. *Archaeological Survey and Excavations At Abiquiu Reservoir, Rio Arriba County, New Mexico*. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM (1975).

_____ *Navajo Excavations At Abiquiu Reservoir, Rio Arriba County, New Mexico*. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM (1976).

_____. *Archaeological Survey of Maximum Pool and Navajo Excavations at Abiquiu Reservoir*. National Park Service (1976).

_____. *The Cerrito Site (AR-4): A Piedra Lumbre Phase Settlement At Abiquiu Reservoir*. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM (1978).

_____. "Archaeological Studies In the Abiquiu Reservoir District." *Discovery* (1978).

Schaafsma, Polly. "Rock Art of the Navajo Reservoir." *El Palacio* Vol. 69 (1962).

_____ . *Rock Art of the Navajo Reservoir District*. Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art (1966).

_____ . *Early Navajo Rock Paintings and Carvings*. Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art (1966).

_____ . "The Destruction and Preservation of Rock Paintings and Petroglyphs." *El Palacio* (Spring 1966).

_____ "The Rock Art of Utah -- From the Donald Scott Collection." *Peabody Museum Publication in Archaeology and Ethnology* (1971).

_____ *Rock Art In New Mexico*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque (1975).

_____ *Rock Art In the Cochiti Reservoir District*. Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe (1975).

_____ *Indian Rock Art of the Southwest*. School of American Research, Santa Fe, NM (1980).

Schaafsma, Polly and Curtis Schaafsma. "Evidence of the Origins of the Pueblo Katchina Cult As Suggested By Southwestern Rock Art." *American Antiquity* Vol. 39 (1974).

Schoenwetter, James. "A Re-evaluation of the Navajo Reservoir Pollen Chronology." *El Palacio* (Spring 1966).

Scholes, Frances V. "Troublous Times In New Mexico 1659-1670, Governor Diego de Penalosa." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 13 (Jan. 1938).

_____ "Troublous Times In New Mexico 1659-1670, The Trial of Penalosa by the Holy Office." *New Mexico Historical Review* Vol. 16 (1940).

_____ "Troublous Times In New Mexico 1659-1670, Conclusion." *New Mexico Historical Review* (July 1941).

Schroeder, Albert H. "Navaho and Apache Relationships West of the Rio Grande." *El Palacio* Vol. 70 (Autumn 1963).

Schulman, Albert. "Pre-Columbia Towers In the Southwest." *American Antiquity* Vol. 4 (1950).

Siegrist, Roland. *Prehistoric Petroglyphs and Pictographs In Utah*. Utah State Historical Society (1972).

Sleight, Frederick W. "The Navajo Sacred Mountain of the East: A Controversy." *El Palacio* Vol. 38 (Dec. 1951).

Smith, Gerald A. and Wilson G. Turner. *Indian Rock Art of Southern California*. San Bernardino County Museum Association (1975).

Spencer, Katherine. *Reflections of Social Life In the Navaho Origin Myth*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque (1947).

_____. *Mythology and Values: An Analysis of Navaho Chantway Myths*. American Folklore Society (1957).

Stahle, David. "Navajo Archaeology In Light of LA-2298." Unpublished manuscript on file at the University of Arizona, Tucson (1973).

Stephen, A.M. "The Navajo." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 6 (1893).

_____. "Navajo Origin Legend." *Journal of American Folklore*. (1932).

Stokes, M.A. and T.L. Smiley. "Tree-Ring Dates From the Navajo Land Claim I. The Northern Sector." *The Tree-Ring Bulletin* (1966a).

_____. "Tree-Ring Dates From the Navajo Land Claim III. The Southern Sector." *The Tree-Ring Bulletin* (1966b).

_____."Tree-Ring Dates From the Navajo Land Claim. The Eastern Sector." *The Tree-Ring Bulletin* (1969).

Stubbs, Stanley. "Survey of the Gobernador Region: Preliminary Report of General Characteristics of the Upper San Juan Area of Rio Arriba County In New Mexico." *El Palacio* Vol. 29 (1930).

Thomas, Alfred Barnaby. *Forgotten Frontiers -- A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Baulista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico 1777-1787*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman (1932).

_____. *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman (1941).

Turner, Christy G. II. *Petroglyphs of the Glen Canyon Region*. Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff (1963).

Tweedie, M. Jean. "Notes On the History and Adoption of the Apache Tribes." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 70 (1968).

Twitchell, Ralph Emerson. *The Leading Facts of New Mexico History* (two vols.). Horn and Wallace (1963).

Underhill, Ruth. "Intercultural Relations In the Greater Southwest." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 56 (1954).

Van Valkenburgh, Richard F. "Navaho Common Law I -- Notes On Political Organization of

Property and Inheritance." *Museum Notes* Vol. 9, No. 4. Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff (1936).

_____ "A Striking Navaho Petroglyph." *The Master Key* Vol. 12 (1938).

_____ "Sacred Places and Shrines of the Navajo Part I. The Sacred Mountains." *Museum Notes* Vol. 2, No. 3. Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff (1938).

_____ "Sacred Places and Shrines of the Navajo Part II. Navajo Rock and Twig Piles called Tsénadjhih." *Plateau* Vol. 13 (1940).

_____ "Tsosi Tells the Story of Massacre Cave." *Desert Magazine* Vol. 3 Feb. (1940).

_____ *Diné Bikeyah.* Office of Indian Affairs, Window Rock, AZ (1941).

_____ "Big Bead Mesa -- Where Campfires Burned In the Ancient Days." *Desert Magazine* (1945).

_____ "A Short History of the Navajo People." *Navajo Indians VII -- Commission Findings.* Garland Publishing Co. (1974).

Van Valkenburgh, Richard F. and Frank O. Walker. "Old Placenames In the Navaho Country." *The Master Key* Vol. 19 (1945).

Van Valkenburgh, Richard F. and Clyde Kluckhohn. "Navajo Sacred Places." *Navajo Indians III.* Garland Publishing Co. (1974).

Vivian, Gordon and Tom W. Matthews. *Kin Kletso, A Pueblo III Community In Chaco Canyon, New Mexico.* Southwestern Monuments Association (1965).

Vivian, R. Gwinn. *The Navajo Archaeology of the Chacra Mesa.* M.A. Thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque (1960).

Wagner, Henry R. *The Spanish Southwest 1542-1794* (two vols.). Arno Press (1967).

White, Charles B. "A Comparison of Theories On Southern Athapaskan Kinship Systems." *American Anthropologist* Vol. 59 (1957).

Wilkinson, Nancy M. "Arts and Crafts of the Gallina Culture." *El Palacio* (Oct. 1958).

Wilson, John P. and A.H. Warren. "LA-2298: The Earliest Pueblito?" *Awanyu* (1974).

Worchester, Donald E. *Early History of the Navaho Indians.* Doctoral Dissertation, University of California (1947).

Wyman, Leland. *Beautyway: A Navaho Ceremonial.* Bollinger Series, Pantheon Books (1957).

_____ *Blessingway, With Three Versions of the Myth Recorded and Translated by Father Berard Haile.* University of Arizona Press, Tucson (1970).

Young, Robert W. and William Morgan. *The Navajo Language: A Grammar and Colloquial Dictionary.* University of New Mexico, Albuquerque (1980).